The Congregational Quarterly

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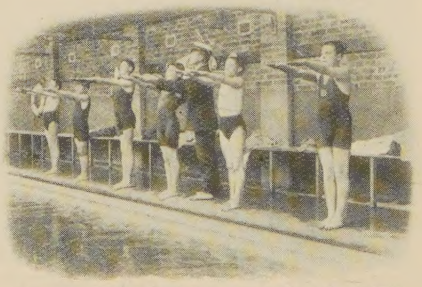

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The Congregational Quarterly

EDITORIAL

On the whole, events in Europe have moved in the right direction during the last three months, though so slowly that the motion is scarcely perceptible. There is evidence that the people of the United States are growing more and more dissatisfied with their country's aloofness from the world's problems, while the Dawes Report, the defeat of Poincaré, and the continued agreement of all political parties in this country in the belief that peace can only be maintained by the revision of the Versailles Treaty and the steady support of the League of Nations, all brighten the outlook.

Meanwhile politics at home remain in the same Micawber-like state. Everything is uncertain, and the ten days that elapse between the writing of these sentences and their publication may make them seem strangely out-of-date. The Conservatives and Liberals are agreed in not wanting an immediate election, and are "waiting for something to turn up" that will swing a large portion of the electorate over to them. The Government has scored by its Budget, even though it has floundered in its attempts to tackle the problems in which it claims to have peculiar interest, and it is just as likely to continue in office as it was on its first day—however likely that might be! The Liberal Party has gained no ground during the quarter, in spite of the ability of its leaders, who seem strangely ignorant of the harm done to the Party by such a fiasco as Sir J. W. Pratt's candidature in the Kelvingrove bye-election. The Party seems to be much in the same position as in 1874, as it is described in a letter in John Bright's handwriting, which lies on the desk before us:

> "As to a manifesto of the Liberal Party, I know no one who is capable of writing it. The Party is in confusion, and is likely to remain so. It is a Party with great differences and no cohesion. We have the section which stands by the Church, and the section which is hostile to it, and the Irish section is,

for the time, gone over to Home Rule, to which the other two sections are entirely opposed. I see no way out of present difficulties, and I am not strong enough to take the position of pilot, even if I knew the soundings."

* * *

It is difficult to believe that the Council Meetings at Bedford, "Copec," and our May Assembly all fall in the few short weeks since our last issue—they mean so much to Congregationalism and to the Christian Church.

The two denominational gatherings give us every reason to thank God and take courage : a spirit of hopefulness and of good fellowship was everywhere manifest, and an earnest desire to make our Churches effective for their work. The Council faced the Moderatorial System with a sense of responsibility and without any attempt on the part of its members to score mere debating points—indeed, some glorious opportunities to score such points were rejected with an unanimity which was a credit to the gathering. The General Purposes Committee had rendered good service by incorporating in a revised scheme the suggestions of the County Unions ; the edge of the criticisms had thus been turned, and the discussion went through with expedition, and yet with sufficient indication that the Council was determined to safeguard all that is essential in our Congregational witness. It should now be the effort of all our Churches to give the revised scheme a fair chance, and to encourage and support those who have been called by the denomination to a most difficult task. It is to be hoped that all the Provinces will adopt the practice of calling regular Provincial Assemblies ; it is only as Provinces become, not mere agglomerations of counties, but real entities, with outward manifestations of their unity, that the Moderators can function effectively and the system have a proper chance.

The May Assembly was also full of encouragement. The Secretary of the Union was heartily congratulated, not only on his first year's work, but also on the honour conferred upon him by Glasgow University. The Congregational Quarterly heartily rejoices in the way in which one of the members of its Editorial Board worthily upheld the great traditions of the Presidential chair. Mr. Pringle was not only particularly happy in his conduct of the Assembly's business and in his utterances at the public meetings, but in his address he challenged preachers and hearers alike to ask whether the modern pulpit was marked by sufficient courage and candour. Some were inclined to think, as when Mr. Pringle preached on "Christian Modernism" in October, that he was flogging a dead horse, because the Congregational pulpit, at any rate, had no doctrine of reserve, but was outspoken and even audacious. We are not so sure. It is certainly true to say that some parts of London, for example, are

extremely conservative in matters Biblical, and there are not wanting ministers who say frankly that they do not tell their congregations all that they believe about the Bible and modern scholarship. Dr. Selbie and the Chairman of the Union are quite right; there is no hope for a Church whose motto is "Safety First," and none for a pulpit on whose courage and honesty people cannot implicitly rely.

It is worth considering whether we should not be wise to learn from the Baptists, and sometimes in arranging for our denominational assemblies call together the speakers for conference so that their addresses may be prepared in collaboration. Eight of the addresses given at the Baptist meetings at Cardiff have been printed in a booklet called *The Preaching of Christ* (Kingsgate Press, 1s. 6d.), which shows the success of the experiment. Dr. T. R. Glover, whose Chairman's Address is the first in the series, contributes the Introduction.

* * *

"COPEC" must have a paragraph to itself. The first number of this journal called the Church of Christ to clear thinking and definite leadership. Especially did we suggest that the Church should beat out a policy in regard to amusements, weekday and Sunday, and in regard to the relationship of the sexes. To the discussion of these and other topics the Churches have given themselves, and "Copec" is one of the results. The ground had been prepared before the Conference by the work of the Commissions, and the Reports—of varying merit, it must be confessed—were the basis for the sessions. The atmosphere of the Conference was fresh and healthy, and full of inspiration. Especially noticeable was the proportion of young delegates. One observer who left "Copec" to address a County Union Assembly maintained that the average age of delegates to the latter was fifteen to twenty years more than that of "Copec" delegates. Whatever be the cause, the presence of youth or some other, the fact is that "Copec" was marked by an amazing earnestness. Its members were anxious to probe to the bottom of the world's sufferings, and to discover what the Church of Christ could do to heal them. The three requisites for true reform were all there: vision, to see things as they might be; insight, to see things as they are; enthusiasm, to turn things as they are into things as they might be.

Another pleasing feature of the Conference was the part played by women. "Copec" was an evidence that in Christ Jesus there is neither male nor female.

What will be the outcome of "Copec"? Much has been written, much will be written, in answer to that question. Perhaps its best service will be to help us to discover how Christian opinion can best be focussed on any given problem, and how expression may be given to it speedily. It is because the forces of evil mobilize so much more quickly than the forces of good that the Christian Church

often arrives only in time to pick up the pieces instead of being there to prevent the accident.

* * *

"COPEC" was at its weakest in dealing with the problem of Christianity and war. It attempted to sit on the fence, and that is never a dignified attitude—certainly not for the Bishop of Manchester. The Christian Church has got to come down on one side or the other —*now*, before the accident. It is weak and futile to declare that "all war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ," and then to explain that these words "must not be interpreted in a pacifist sense." Let us do one thing or the other: let us take the words at their face value and try to obey our Lord, no matter what it may cost; or let us say frankly that obedience is impossible, that in this sub-Christian world there are times when peoples must resort to the un-Christian practice of war. If allegiance to Christ transcends all other allegiance at all times, let us speak and act as if we believed it; if there may be circumstances in which loyalty to the State supersedes loyalty to Christ, let us frankly state our belief. It is of no use trying to escape the antithesis and saying it does not exist: the logic of history and of events is too strong for that.

If the Christian Church is to lead the world she must take her life in her hands in this matter; her pusillanimity only serves to give point to indictments like that of "F. A. A." in *The Churches and War* (Swarthmore Press, 6d.). If the Churches do no more than they have so far done—if they do no more than "Copec"—there will be no warless world. Leagues, treaties, understandings, will all be swept away by hatred, aircraft, and death-rays unless the Churches have brought men to the Prince of Peace. Some have dreamed that the Roman Catholic Church, international, yet closely organized, might lead the crusade for peace. If she alone were to stand unequivocally for peace at all times, what white nation, at any rate, would prepare for battle?

* * *

WHAT can be done immediately? Recently the *Christian Century*, in an article entitled "Get the Church out of the War Business," suggested that a first step should be taken by all ministers of religion, who should notify their States that they "would not again use their ministerial office in support of any war" (this would leave them free to determine what their action would be as private citizens). Denominations likewise should declare that their ecclesiastical machinery could not be mobilized in support of any war. A suggestion of this nature deserves careful thought. As the *Christian Century* says:

" Let preachers outlaw war by putting it without the bounds of their ministerial function, and it may be that the scientists, the technicians, and then the craftsmen, will declare it to be contrary to the ethics of their profession and trade to use their talents and capacities for the destruction of mankind, and that such judgments would bring them all together to accomplish disarmament, international legislative and judicial machinery, and the organization of the economic life of the world for the development of all. By this way or some other some part of our corporate life must definitely start the outlawry of war. Will Christ's preachers do it ? "

* * *

THE denomination has entered on the last stage of its Forward Movement effort, and promises of £150,000 are needed before next May. The effort can only be crowned with success if all Congregationalists lend a hand ; all must bend themselves to the oars if the harbour is to be safely reached. To that end we hope that full use will be made of our Missionary Societies in presenting the appeal to the Churches. The work of the L.M.S. and of the C.M.S. can be presented in a vivid fashion that will make its appeal to the constituency, and if to Dr. Jones's persuasive exposition of the first part of the Fund there could be added the fire of our most effective missionary speakers, enthusiasm could be roused to the point of sacrifice.

* * *

PROBABLY no two Englishmen have had a more intimate knowledge of India and its people than W. W. Pearson and C. F. Andrews, and all too soon the reconciling work of the former has come to an end. We are glad to be able to print in this issue an appreciation of Pearson's life and work from the pen of his friend and colleague. In our next issue we hope to publish a survey of The Student Christian Movement, by the Rev. Hugh Martin, as well as a discussion of " The Elements of a Christian Sociology," by Mr. H. A. Mess. Dr. Schweitzer's promised articles have not yet come to hand, but he is now back in Lambarene, so perhaps they will not be long delayed. It is only fair to say that he warned us that he was now not a theological professor with much time for writing books and articles, but one who was busily engaged in surgical operations—though that is a euphemistic translation of the phrase he employed !

W. W. PEARSON

THE difficulty of writing anything adequate about William Winstanley Pearson has so grown upon me, as I have tried to shape my thoughts, that again and again I have torn up in despair what I have written. When I first knew him he had reached the prime of manhood, with all his peculiar characteristics and his purpose in life marked out. India had won his heart, and whatever gifts he had were to be devoted to her service. His passionate devotion to India had always about it something of a lover, and when the news came that, while unconscious, in his last illness, he had murmured in his pain : " My one and only love—India," it was not difficult to understand the cry, for it was a life-long passion with him and a devotion that was stronger than death.

He had spoken to me more than once about marriage. Those who knew him and loved him best had impressed upon him the rare possibilities of married life for a nature so gifted with affection as his. But though he thought long over the idea and came back to it in his own mind again and again, he seemed to shrink and hesitate. India was to him " a thing enskied and sainted," and he worshipped at her feet. I do not know if his domestic life could have ever contained such another romance ; and this first love for India of the passionate lover grew stronger, not weaker, as the end drew near.

A story which has just reached me from Japan has moved me more deeply than anything else I have heard concerning him since the time when the news came about his death, for it brought his highly sensitive and deeply reserved nature before me. One day, in a time of convalescence in Japan, after long bouts of sickness, the mail from India came into his hands while he was speaking with an English friend. An inexpressible look lighted up his face, and he said to his friend, with a voice that trembled to the verge of tears: " Could you leave me now ? I want to read these letters alone." This was during one of those times of physical weakness and absence from India, when his own heart's longings could not be fulfilled.

Many years before that a similar experience of the depth of this love of his for India was revealed in a flash to me, and it gave me the first clear insight into his character. He had come home from Calcutta, his health apparently shattered. But his bodily sufferings were as nothing compared with his inner spiritual pain of unrest. For the doctors had warned him that it was unlikely that he would ever be well enough to return to India. Shortly after that time (in the summer of 1912) I was in England, and we had both of us met the poet, Rabindranath Tagore. For Pearson the poet was the

embodiment of all that he loved in India itself. The longing to return, which had been never absent, had increased a thousand-fold after this first meeting, and the heart-sickness was evident in his eyes whenever he spoke of Bengal.

Now it happened that I knew of a tutorship that was vacant for the cold weather months in Delhi, and felt certain that the doctors would not forbid him going out for this cold season. Therefore, instead of asking him to consider the *pros* and *cons* of it, a sudden resolution came to me and, greatly venturing, I booked his passage and came to him, holding the steamer ticket in my hand. My very first words to him were: "Here is your passage booked and you sail on October 15th." When he realized what I had done, his eyes danced with excitement. In a moment he seemed to throw off, like a heavy weight, all the bodily pains which had bent him down miserably before. His happiness during the next two months and on board the ship and after he had landed was infectious. He could not keep it to himself: it overflowed. From the moment that his face was set towards India he rapidly recovered.

One of the singular features about this was that his home in England was, in a different sense, quite equally dear. But *that* represented another aspect of love—a steady, deep, ever-constant affection which had grown up with him from infancy. This love for his home was of the texture of his life itself. But the love for India was always a thing apart, unearthly, romantic, imaginative, finding its truth in the realm of imagination and receiving its corroboration in the hearts of his Indian friends.

These all loved him with a peculiar devotion as they understood the unique sincerity of the love for India that encompassed his heart. Among these Indian friends of his own age there was this striking feature, that each of them appeared to occupy the whole of his heart and mind, and to be loved individually with a singular love, as if he were the only friend; yet their number was by no means small, and each one had a character of his own. Willie Pearson's genius for friendship was a rare gift indeed. After the news came about his death, those who had known him so intimately wrote to me saying that the greatest influence for good which they had ever known had been taken away. "My one and only friend is no more," wrote one to me.

In the later years of his life, when I knew him best, it was always with Indians that these new friendships, which stirred his own nature to its very depths, arose. In Japan it had been his one regret that he had found this intimacy of friendship infinitely hard to reach. Perhaps he scarcely realized how much his longing for love was being returned, for the response in Japan is different from that in India; it is always more reserved. He never spoke to me of any Japanese friend in the same way that he spoke of those who loved him in Bengal.

I think, but I am not quite certain, that there was one other distinctive feature in these Indian friendships. Though not exclusively such, yet they were far more easy for him to form with those who were Bengalis than with those of any other race. The Bengali temperament, which is so high in artistic qualities and in intellectual and imaginative force, had a commanding attraction for him. He had learnt the Bengali language ; and it was a pure delight for him to talk with those whose mother tongue it was. But the delight went far beyond this common tie of speech. Their music, their art, their literature, their intellectual gifts, all fascinated him and called forth his highest admiration. The charm of their domestic life, with its many endearing relationships, also gave him deep and permanent satisfaction. He was never tired of talking over with me the singular beauty of these relationships, which comprise every member of the household, including the domestic servants. He said to me once : " What a wonderful civilization must be behind all this ! And what a Fine Art the gift of affection truly becomes in such households ! "

I must break off, at this point, to speak of his own taste for art and music and science. It is easy for me to recall the amused glee with which he came back after his voice had been tried by the kindly music teacher of the Asram (with whom he was a special favourite) and told the poet with mock triumph that he had been given a first-class singing certificate. His laughter was due to the fact that, though he had excellent taste both in music and in art, he had only the skill of an amateur ; he had never undergone the rigour of serious training. I think it just possible that he could have become a first-rate musician if he had studied and practised from childhood, but his life was too many-sided. He took up science, not really because his heart was in it, though here again he did valuable work, and his study of the Evolutionary Theory which gained him his B.Sc. degree, was highly praised. But it was not with him a life-long enthusiasm. Indeed, he was so extraordinarily varied in his gifts that it would have been hardly possible for him to carry any one of them out to its completion without neglecting others. Therefore each of them used to win his almost undivided attention, in its turn, as the mood seized him. I can remember, at Delhi, the way in which he used literally to slave away at his Bengali, as though nothing in the world were of any importance except to translate correctly Rabindranath Tagore's writings into English. Then, on a visit to France, he would suddenly discover that all depended on his learning French quickly. In a last letter from Switzerland he told me with a boyish pleasure how he had talked for over three hours in French with M. Romain Rolland in Villeneuve. In Japan his whole attention would be absorbed in Japanese masterpieces of drawing and painting ; and to discover an original by a great master

in some second-hand curio shop would give him endless delight. He would speak of it for days afterwards and display his purchase to every one in the party, expecting and receiving their congratulations.

I have thought long over the question as to what was his greatest gift, amid all this bewildering variety of talents, and I am certain that it did not lie in anything that he had learnt from books, or studied in academic circles, or practised as a profession. It was his genius for making and preserving friendships; it was the infinite attraction of his whole personality for all who met him and learnt to know him. It was this more than anything else that made Willie Pearson unique. The mention of his name brought a gleam of light to the eyes in every circle wherein he moved.

In India, where racial feelings have grown strong of late, no one ever thought of him as a foreigner or an intruder. He was made a welcome member of every family where he stayed, and it was always his greatest wish and happiness to live in Indian homes. In every possible way he would conform to their manners and dress and customs; and he would always do his utmost, with infinite care, to put those who were entertaining him entirely at their ease.

I am aware that I have been speaking all the while about his relationships with grown-up people and with family circles, and about the still greater horizon of his love for India itself. But even while I have been doing this, I have also been trying to pass on further to the one love which brought out all his gifts most perfectly—his love of children. Here was his supreme happiness, if to be happy is to forget self entirely in others. A group of children, with him in their midst, became at once electrified with animation and excitement. His classes were like the buzzing of bees round a hive. Each boy was wishing to get in his answer first. In our open-air life at Santiniketan all this noise in class was delightfully simple and innocuous. For he took his boys where there was ample space all round and no other class was near that might be disturbed. But if he had been in a schoolroom the clamour which arose out of all the excitement would have been deafening. More full of joy to the boys, even than his classes, were the rambles which he took with them for "nature study." One further form of teaching must be mentioned—the acting of plays. He had a dramatic gift and a very beautiful voice for recitation. In the last term of his teaching at the Asram he had taught the boys to act in a play; and the pleasure that he gave to those young actors will not soon be forgotten.

It will be noticed that I have said nothing hitherto of the years when he was working as a missionary in the London Missionary Society, at Bhowanipur, Calcutta. In those days I had not yet made his acquaintance, though I had often heard about him. The fact is that he spoke to me very little indeed about that period of his life, and there can be no question that he had not then discovered his

proper sphere. His own peculiar gifts could not find scope amid the routine work of a long-established mission, whose conventional lines had been laid down long ago. He did not feel there that spirit of freedom which was the very breath of his life. It was clear, I think, to everyone—as it became clear to himself—that his own work in India and for India could only be done when he was entirely the master of his own time and his own method. It was here that the school of the poet, Rabindranath Tagore, so wonderfully fulfilled this full ideal of freedom. It was a *poet's* school, not a conventional educational institution. The poet's genius was written all over it, and freedom was its watchword.

Many have anxiously asked me whether this freedom, which he sought and found under Rabindranath Tagore, had meant any weakening of his hold on the essentials of the Christian Faith. As one who knew him very intimately indeed during the later years of his life, I can say with confidence that each step forward into this freedom, which the poet's school gave him, was a help rather than a hindrance to his realization of the Christian life; and that each step was taken consciously by him with this object in view. It enabled him (if I may so express it) to live more fully and simply the Christian life than any other career could do. By all his many Indian friends it was entirely understood in that sense; it always definitely implied to them that conscious Christian purpose. They looked upon him as an almost ideal Christian, and saw in his daily life just what they could imagine Christ Himself to be.

I must pause here to explain a point that he talked over with me very many times. He had found it, he said, the most difficult thing in the world to be a true Christian in India. It was not enough to live the conventional Anglo-Indian life, which was bound up with much that could not in his opinion ever truly represent Christ to Hindus and Mussalmans. He felt that the missionary societies had become almost inevitably involved in this conventional standard of Christian living and thinking. Therefore, as one whose single-hearted daily endeavour was to try to become more and more in India a true Christian, he found it necessary at last, after a very painful struggle, to set himself free from every external bond, so that he might seek to realize the Christian ideal in his own way. He never judged those who took a different path, but he felt that he had to follow out his own life purpose.

It has to be realized that he was not an ordinary person. He had genius of a very high order. If this genius of his had been simply that of a writer he might have endured, for a time at least, a certain amount of external bondage, on the understanding that his own thoughts might travel freely. But his peculiar genius consisted in friendship; that is to say, it was bound up with every smallest aspect of the daily life itself. To realize to the full *this* kind of genius,

freedom was absolutely necessary. When at last he obtained that freedom, in Rabindranath Tagore's school, he was radiantly happy. Before that time, both in London and at Bhowanipur, he felt that he had not got the scope he required and he was unhappy.

One thing more I wish to make plain. It was through the expression of his own genius for friendship in action that he found Christ and learnt more and more the inner meaning of Christ. Perhaps the most fundamental of all his convictions, which made the bed-rock of faith on which his own character was built, was his belief that, by humbly waiting upon God in prayer and silence and meditation, the answer would be given by the Holy Spirit's inspiration and direction. This faith in him was very strong indeed. He would wait, as I know well, for the Holy Spirit's guidance of his life, even in little things of daily moment; and in the larger issues of life, which involved the whole future, he would not venture to take action, till, after days of patient waiting, he felt in his innermost heart a " concern " (so he used to describe it to me, in the language of the Quakers); and he would explain that he had learnt this habit of seeking direct guidance at his mother's knee. For she had been brought up in the Society of Friends, and had inherited this faith as a great tradition which she had practised in her own life and taught to her own children.

His own Christian belief was extraordinarily simple and child-like and direct. He was not, as far as I am aware, greatly troubled by intellectual doubts or metaphysical questions. His troubles were rather those which were concerned with conduct—how to follow Christ truly. There was a New Testament Class, which he used to take right up to the end, at Santiniketan, of those who, of their own accord, wished to learn the New Testament from him. In taking this class he used to be somewhat uncritical in his exposition. He took the narrative just as he found it, and went straight to its inner meaning, not concerning himself about the criticism of the text.

This temperament made him accept uncritically many of the stories of Hinduism in the same manner. He delighted in their inner beauty, and always tried to penetrate below the surface to their spiritual meaning. Of all the people whom I have intimately known and loved I think that he would come nearest of all to fulfilling in his daily life and thoughts the words of St. Paul, at the end of his great letter to those Philippian Christians who were so near to his heart :—

> Finally, brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things . . . and the God of peace shall be with you.

For with that generous and warm-hearted chivalry towards other creeds, which was a part of his very nature, and more than anything else perhaps the inner secret of his genius for friendship, he would always think the best of them and seek to penetrate below the surface to the good that lay beneath in every religion with which he came into living contact. In this way, I truly believe, he was performing a Christ-like work, and setting up a standard which will be a rallying point for many true Christ-lovers who have often been pained and grieved by much that has been controversially said and done in Christ's name in the East.

His admiration for Buddhism, as he read its past history and saw its wonderful achievements in India and in other lands, became very deep indeed. All that he himself loved and reverenced, as being truly Christ-like, appeared to him to be found in varying degree in this pre-Christian movement, which had so deeply stirred man's spirit. In Japan, where Buddhism is still a living creed, he paid great reverence to the gentle Buddhist priests with whom he came in contact. They formed perhaps his nearest means of approach to an understanding of the inner heart of Japan.

It was the same in India, with Hinduism and Islam. He would always see the best of these religions and think the best of them, in accordance with the golden rule of Christ, Who said : " Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you even so do unto them : for this is the Law and the Prophets."

In his many journeys abroad with me to foreign lands this attitude of appreciation was very marked ; and it was a great lesson to me in Christian charity. I have very often thought, when I watched his perfect courtesy to foreigners who did not understand him and whose manners were repugnant to him, how wonderfully his Christian charity overcame any natural dislike. The great words of the Apostle : " Charity beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things ; charity never faileth," were abundantly true with him. His charity never failed. His greatest difficulty was to endure the sight of some injustice or rudeness done by one of his own countrymen to those of another race. Then sometimes his indignation blazed forth.

This brings me to a point where I would on no account wish to be misunderstood : for the mistake, if made, would be fundamental. His was not at all one of those kindly, indulgent, easy-going characters, that loves to be a friend of all the world by simple kindliness and good nature. Willie Pearson had in him something of a volcano, which he found difficult beyond words to control. At times, it would break out and get beyond him. He spent his whole life in seeking to control it, and the long hours which he used to give daily to silence and quiet meditation had often this end in view. In the presence of God he had found peace, and whenever the irritation at some wrong

became too great to bear he would retire and compose himself before he came back into the outer world. I have seen him do this so many times that I can understand the self-discipline that it needed.

It was very rarely indeed that this indignation blazed forth against something that was mistaken by him for a wrong or an evil inconsiderately. If that ever occurred he was the first to come forward and make amends ; indeed he would run to do so. But the times that I remember most clearly were those when some hypocrisy needed to be exposed, or when some cruelty to the weak had occurred in his own presence. Then I have seen his eyes flash, and I have realized something of what it must have looked like to watch Christ's own indignation at the sight of cruelty and hypocrisy. I have then known also what it meant, that Christ championed the outcast and the despised, and stood on their side, even when His own character was defamed, and how He was called the " friend of publicans and sinners." Willie Pearson tried to follow Christ there.

In the light of such a character as this, it has been possible for me to appreciate, as a means to its formation and growth, the long discipline of pain and illness, both in his early manhood and later years, so bravely borne ; the long discipline of silence and meditation self-imposed, but equally necessary for the moulding of his nature ; and it has been made easier for me to understand what was the divine purpose in the sudden accident on the railway, together with those long-drawn weary days of suffering at the last, so chivalrously endured with a smile, and his death just as he had reached the height of all his powers. If Christ, the Captain of our Salvation, was " made perfect through suffering," we may surely be thankful to God that this disciple, who sought to follow Christ so closely, was counted worthy to suffer for Christ's name. He, too, like his Master, was " made perfect through suffering."

C. F. Andrews.

CHRISTIAN VOCATION AND THE SOCIAL ORGANISM

It is a common complaint that in the world of to-day the religious motive for work has been mislaid. Of old, in Christendom, men worked with the conviction that they owed it to God to give their strength and energy to their work. In the main, they felt that the particular positions which they held in the social organism were of God's appointing, and their duty was to accept their lot and fulfil its obligations to the best of their powers. At least, religious men felt this; and less religious men were influenced by them, so that their consciences operated in the same direction. It was Puritanism which gave this tremendous religious impetus to industry and commerce—and the result is our present industrial system, carried on by capital which is itself the result of the religious impulse given by the Puritans to frugality and saving.

We cannot stay now to examine the merits and defects of the Puritan philosophy. That it had defects, as well as merits, no man who contemplates the present state of industry can possibly deny. All too easily did it allow itself to be allied with the moral ideal which has made self-help and self-advancement so large an element in the modern motive for industry. It is at least partly for that reason that the motive for industry has been allowed to pass by degrees from a religious basis to a basis of self-interest. And when self-interest is allowed to be the ruling motive it naturally comes to rule by any means it can, and hence we have class organization for the advancement of sectional interests, leading to class war. So we reach the present phase in industry, in which we find a vast amount of ingenuity and energy devoted not to producing at all, but to fighting for the profits of producing, and a vast amount of hostility and suspicion engendered in the process.

Now it is easily possible to waste valuable time in arguing for and against the importance of self-interest as a motive for industry. For the purpose of this paper it is only necessary to make the moderate claim that the appeal to self-interest has been overdone, and that other and more religious motives need to be called into play if the world is to have industrial peace and a higher and more pleasing standard of production. That claim will no doubt be generally allowed. It is notorious that in the boom which followed the end of the war the productivity of this country was half paralysed by dissension due to the rivalry of self-interested claims, and that the heart of the great mass of men is not in their daily labour. The religious

motives for work have been overlaid, and we have to seek and recover them. It is this which this paper endeavours to do.

1. *The General Outline of a Christian Vocational Ideal.*

The pattern of our manhood has been given to us by Jesus Christ. Whatever more we find in Him, we find the ideal human life. The ideal is for all times and all places and all people : the question is, can we bring it into relation with the circumstances of average working lives ? If we can, we shall be able to begin to reorganize the working life of the more religious people along religious lines ; and that will have the tendency to act as a missionary force to draw the lives of others into the same orbit. " We needs must love the highest when we see it." The embodied religious ideal has tremendous spiritual power, only it must be made visible to most men before they can realize it ; and it must be made applicable to the varying circumstances of their differing occupations. Thus, some motives for work may be found to apply to manual work that do not apply to mental work, and *vice versa* ; but the deepest motives are likely to be the most universal ones. Bearing this in mind, we turn to the life of Jesus, and find it marked by three things in which it can serve as pattern to everyone, whatever the nature of their special calling.

In the first place, the life of Jesus was one of faith in God. He believed that God was as real and as present as any of the visible things around Him. And therefore God's will was the first consideration in every situation, and there was no situation in which it was not relevant. It was instinctive with Jesus to think of every event and circumstance in terms of what God was wishing to make of that event or circumstance, or to teach by it. There is no exception whatever to this rule. The will of God is absolutely the first consideration always, and there is no occasion or duty to which it does not apply. The first stage in the recovery of the religious motive for work must be the recovery of this conviction that there is no occasion or duty with regard to which God is indifferent. He has a will to make something out of it that is consonant with His glorious nature. He has a purpose to teach us something divinely good, or to enlist us in the creation of something divinely good in every situation or circumstance.

In the next place, the life of Jesus was one of power to impress His character upon circumstances. He faced life as one who was never going to be beaten, who could always stand up straight to life and say, " I can do this work to a good purpose. I can manifest the life of God here." We shall, of course, mistake the significance of this if we take it to mean that Jesus felt that He could always do anything He chose. That would be to make His example absolutely meaningless for ourselves, for we know that we cannot act in that unconditioned way. As a matter of fact Jesus was constantly

conscious of the limitations imposed upon Him by the limitations of those around Him. But in spite of this there was no set of circumstances in which He could not bear Himself in a way that revealed God to men. There was nothing that He was ever called upon to do that He could not do well. In the carpenter's shop at Nazareth, when He made yokes for oxen and lintels for doorways, it was done in ways which manifested the grace of His character and won the favour of God and man. Always there was something pleasing to God in His activity, something that made men marvel and rejoice. So work always, He said to His disciples, that those who see your work will "glorify your Father which is in heaven." Any situation may be made to show forth something of the glory of God, when handled by a man with the spirit of God in him.

In the third place, whenever Jesus entered into any relations with anybody He made them, in the fullest sense, relations of love. When He met anyone, no matter who or where, He was interested in their most particular affairs. If they were ill, He wanted to make them well; if they were troubled, He wanted to get to the root of their trouble and to remove it; if they were immoral, He offered them the strength which He knew they wanted; only if He found them playing at goodness or at religion did He find a barrier rise between them and Him that turned His love to anger. The centre point of all this for our present purpose is that when life brought Jesus into relations with anybody whatsoever He at once accepted responsibility for their physical, social, and moral welfare. And although we have not anything like His power to get straight to the heart of each man's need and to meet it, in principle we are bound to accept the like responsibility, to benefit everyone we meet to the fullest extent that we are able.

There we have a picture of the pattern life for every man. It is one of constant progress in love for people, in power to get a divine meaning and find a spiritual opportunity in every set of circumstances, and in the sense of the immediate presence of God in all life. Unless something of this kind can be realized in all our particular occupations in life, the full claim of Christianity falls to the ground. Certainly, unless we of the Christian Church can produce Christians who can signally succeed in carrying love and power and the sense of God into the work of life we cannot hope to get the religious motive for work once more to permeate the world of industry.

Now the Christian life is essentially an activity of love to man inspired by an experience of thankfulness to God. It is a service of praise which the human spirit feels impelled to make in return for its God-given joy. Spontaneously the spirit of man, when touched by the spirit of God, seeks outlet in some form of grateful expression. Hallelujahs and the banging of drums may serve for a time to relieve the soul surcharged with joy; the service of others by acts of kindness

and by invitations to share its joy will give larger and more lasting scope for the expression of its gratitude ; but nothing will be found really adequate for the Christian's self-expression but a life that reflects the glory of God from every facet of its activities. And in the long run nothing less will preserve the spontaneity of its hallelujahs, the warmth of its acts of lovingkindness, and the sincerity of its witness to the divine love.

So much belongs to the commonplace of the Christian position. The crux of the business is, of course, to find the will and purpose of God in the ordinary round of organized working life. In the more personal relationships of home and friendship love is constantly called out and given expression, and whenever that happens the springs of life are renewed from the divine source. But the Christian character does not so readily find spiritual expression and renewal in doing things, by hand or brain, in the common work of daily life. We are not accustomed to seeing God's hand anywhere in these business occupations and relationships. Yet only in so far as we can learn to see the service of God, nay even the glory of God, as a product or a possibility of all work, can work find again its religious motive. It is part of the argument of this paper that this can be done. Our failure to find God in these regions is due not to His absence, but to our blindness to His presence. He is there ; but our " eyes are holden " that we cannot see Him, our vision is clouded because we have not trained ourselves to see. When we do so, work, just because it must be for most of us the point round which our character develops, may be the very pivot of the whole movement of our spirit Godward. It may be the activity in which we most of all lay hold of the glory of God and express our love for our fellows in the fashion for which we are particularly fitted.

2. *The Psychological Factors in Individual Vocation.*

Along these lines of thought it becomes necessary to see how some very humdrum and mechanical occupations can be linked in thought with the divine purpose, for it is difficult to see how the world can live without the activities they represent. Indeed, the economic argument for such specialization in industry as gives rise to them thrusts their necessity upon us with great insistence. We shall come presently to the standpoint of their social necessity. Meantime it will be well to look at the matter first from the standpoint of individual interests and capacities. In doing so we see at once that there is in human nature a diversity of faculties which makes it possible to find room for a large measure of industrial specialization, in the direct interest of individual spiritual self-expression, before it is thrust upon us in the uninspiring name of " economy."

In considering the best form of natural and spiritual self-expression for any life, the psychologists call attention to the importance of

the fundamental instincts and their relative strength in the character in question. The raw material with which each one of us has to work is our own human nature, with its own particular capacities and aptitudes. Some distinctive line of development is marked out for each of us by our original psychic equipment. We have latent power to live lustily and well along certain lines, but not along others. The primitive instincts which are, in differing proportion, the life stock of each of us determine for us certain broad options. We can achieve fullness of life, one along this line, another along that, but not any of us along any line that we may choose. We cannot get out of ourselves what is not latent there already, and we cannot therefore glorify God unless there is a latency of glorious activity in all those instincts which enter, in various proportions, into one and another of us. Each of us is a blend of desires and appetites, of preferences for one form of activity and incapacity for another, that can only be made into a vigorous organism if it is humoured ; but if humoured, it can be made to work not only vigorously but ideally.

How various are the lines of activity which different people naturally prefer, experience attests. Some naturally want to make things, others as naturally want to be administrators, others to be teachers, and so on. It needs only a very little reflection for those who believe in the divine providence to assure themselves that this variety of instinctive impulse, which the psychologists tell us is no superficial accident, points to the necessity for different types of individuals finding their spiritual expression, as well as their psychological expression, along these different lines, otherwise they are unlikely to find their proper spiritual expression at all. To make the matter clear by a single instance, it does not appear likely that the teaching impulse which underlies all forms of missionary or clerical activity is a primary impulse in all men. The tendency to regard all Christians as immature unless they tend in their leisure to be amateur instructors and evangelists, is based upon the contrary view. It overlooks the propriety of each individual life reaching its full development along the lines of its special tendency and instinctive capacity. It is not to be expected that any life can flourish and reach its proper development and expression (psychological or spiritual) unless its main activities are in line with its instinctive tendencies, and therefore the life occupations of all should be suited to those instinctive tendencies. They will then be able to find their natural spiritual expression along the lines where their energies tend to concentrate. Happily, the variety of individual tendencies makes it possible for such healthy moral and spiritual developments to take place in a great variety of ways.

It should then be growingly clear that most people need to find a very large part of their Christian self-expression in fulfilling their special functions in the social organism (in manual occupations,

scientific pursuits, clerical work, administration, or whatever it may be); for people of ordinary capacity cannot have their life energies effectively concentrated in a variety of diverse ways. And to that end their sense of what in life has divine worth and meaning must have some relation to their jobs. If they cannot express their love for God in the way they do the work appointed to them by the very constitution of their brains; if they cannot express their love for their fellow-men in the way in which they fulfil their special functions in society, then a very large percentage of their life energy is flowing through channels which will cause their natures to atrophy on the spiritual side. And their attempts to make good the balance by missionary efforts and other acts of kindness cannot repair the damage done to their spiritual vigour during their working days.

This being so, we look round for evidence that people in different occupations can find their main opportunity for spiritual self-fulfilment, their sense of co-partnership with God, their chance of expression as lovers of their kind, in their special callings; and, happily, the evidences are forthcoming. It is true that this line of thought has been so imperfectly followed that many professed Christians find themselves almost, if not quite, inarticulate on the subject, and so there are gaps in the evidence which it is hard to fill; nevertheless, the evidence is considerable, and it is weighty and convincing so far as it goes. It varies, of course, according to the varieties of occupations. It goes without saying that all who are engaged in ministries of personal service can easily find the hand of God and feel His inspiration in their work. Those who teach children the elementary lessons of the day-school are on a more doubtful borderland between spiritual idealism and sheer necessity as their main motive for work, whilst those engaged in industry are still more ready to disclaim either divine sanction or divine inspiration in their work. We shall, therefore, choose instances especially from the latter quarters.

3. *Specific Religious Ideals for Working Life.*

Mr. Peck, in his article[1] on "The Economic Challenge of Orthodoxy," reduces the Christian motive for work to two main points: the motive of gratitude to God for the free gift of life, coupled with the absence of any justification for claiming the individual merit of one's achievements. This would impel the devout believer to produce as lavishly as possible and to assert a very temperate claim upon the joint product of the world's labour. So far as it goes, this seems to me to be excellent: Christian motive must flow down from those high watersheds. The present paper is, however, concerned with more concrete applications of these general principles. When the individual faces his bench or his desk, his work must be viewed not only in its ultimate aspect as a debt owed to God, but in its more proximate aspects as

[1] Congregational Quarterly, II, 45.

a more or less willing co-operation in more or less useful and desirable activities. The motive for work must depend, at least to some extent, upon the rightness or wrongness of the relationships in which he stands to others in the joint enterprise, and upon the worth or worthlessness of the thing he is producing. We have, therefore, to look closer and view the matter in more direct relation to the actualities of working life, before we can define a Christian standard. This standard must be sought not only in ultimate religious theory, but also in present day religious experience. The examination of a number of testimonies with this in view reveals the fact that the sense of divine vocation in their work is felt to-day by Christian men and women on at least the four following lines :

The first note of the Christian life in its working hours is *faithfulness.* Thoroughness, reliability, and honesty are the outcome of this conception of work, and it is as far as many get toward a religious interpretation of their lives. This is the religion of duty, the religion of the law. We do our work with faithfulness, according to our bond —or it may be with a thoroughness beyond what is expected of us, as a testimony that our work is done not unto man but unto God. This is well, but it does not go far enough. After all, the God to whom we bear witness by such action is not necessarily a Father; He may be only a taskmaster who wants work done for Him only because He wants it done. The Father wants His son to do things in such a way that the doing of them is a means of education for His child and an expression of joy in living and a bond of communion between them. The note of duty is a necessary note of working life, but it is not a note on which you can sing the full praises of the Christian God or win enthusiastic converts to the Christian way of life.

The second note in the Christian conception of work is *service.* Work that is in any way useful to someone else satisfies in some measure the instinct of love ; and when love is stirred to activity religious feeling is ready to vibrate. This note of service is probably the note which saves most of the world to-day from an irreligious view of their work, and so saves their spiritual life from total atrophy during working hours. But it is not an adequate note—not adequate to the heights and depths of the Christian view of life. The question of the quality of our service must arise. To what appetites of the world are we ministering by the services we render ? Are we only helping people to eat and drink, perhaps to eat and drink to excess ? Are we only teaching them how to grow rich and prosperous in this world's goods ? If so, our service to the world is not an adequate expression of the Christian religion. Christian love is not satisfied by such activities, nor God glorified by them. Something, therefore, must be added to the quality of service to make it truly Christian.

Sympathy is the third note in the Christian conception of work. What is done is done with consideration for the people affected by

our activities. In school and nursery we minister no longer to *x* and *y*, mere human nonentities with stomachs to feed and brains to cram, but to Jack and Molly, interesting little creatures with souls of their own shining in their faces and destinies of their own to realize. In business our associates are no longer mere cogs in the wheels of production, but persons whose individual identity calls for particular consideration and is worthy of particular interest, particular cultivation. Sympathy is becoming one of the effective watchwords of advanced business methods. The best firms are studying their people, taking the square pegs out of the round holes, relieving monotony, guarding against fatigue, stimulating interest in all their members ; and they are thus bringing back into big businesses some of the personal elements which were lost whilst business was growing big too fast for the well-being of its soul. Sympathy in teaching may, we know, bring out all the character that any Christian can achieve. Sympathy in business sometimes stops short before it has entered deeply enough into the philosophy of business. It may be directed solely by the motive of business profit, if there is not a high idealism already working in business itself. But, then, for that matter, sympathy in teaching will only produce a high expression of character when the business of teaching is itself regarded as great—when truth and beauty are regarded as divine and glorious things without which the children will remain but unfulfilled potentialities. Can the business of manufacture and commerce find room for any like idealism ?

We pass here to the fourth note of a Christian conception of work, and for this it is hard to find a name. No single word or phrase seems good enough to express what one would convey as the culminating note of a Christian conception of work. The word *goodness* is, perhaps, the best, but it is such a misused and under-estimated word that it is not safe to rely on it to convey the meaning. *Beauty* is a word to set beside it to fill out its meaning ; but beauty to some is only a name for superfluous ornament for which there generally is not time, and which is not after all of much account. The difficulty of expression here is due to the fact that the thing to be described is not generally believed to be of real worth. But, to the writer, the very possibility of a religious conception of life as a whole, and of work in particular, turns upon the possibility of putting into every act that we do and every material product that we make some sort of divine beauty.

The spirit of love makes everyone whom it touches into an artist : when the soul is animated by love all its actions acquire grace and charm, in measure. The beauty of the world is a sacramental expression of God's love for man. The fitness of means to ends in the world of nature disclosed by scientific study speaks of the same artist spirit in the Creator ; Love is there speaking to man in the language of material things. And everyone who will let his imagination go in

the attempt to give to matter or physical action the highest possible degree of beauty and design of which he is capable at that moment, strengthens in himself to that extent the spirit of the artist and the lover, which is the spirit of God Himself.

In the last analysis, the world of work will be a world of worship, a sphere of religion, just in the degree to which men are able to express in work that spark of creative genius which strives in everyone to do things with finish, with distinction, with individuality. It matters not that the material is a hard medium. Stone is a hard medium, but the sculptor can express his soul in it. Business, engineering, policing, are hard media in which to express the spirit of love and beauty ; but there are those who can compass it. Moreover, the joy of work only really begins when the attempt to put some spirit into it begins, and that is only possible when we realize that work is something into which spirit can be put—and what is religion without joy ? This crowning of work with the joy of the creative spirit is the only hope of its religious interpretation. Instances lie before me as I write of manufacturers, clerks, inventors, foremen, mechanics, teachers, who are all deeply happy in their work because they are doing something that is not only useful, but that is, in the fullest sense of that delightful phrase, " jolly good." It is good enough to make a song about—no shoddy, no hidden flaws, nothing to let down the man who gets it. It is good enough to dignify the whole business process that produces it.

And we may note this about work that is first-rate and finished, and in which a man can take a pride ; there is a new dignity in the relations of those who are concerned in it. People are far less prone to be mean and despicable in handling fine things and well-made things than they are in handling scamped work and shoddy produce. Other things being equal, that is so. Just as nature and the good clean earth tend to purify character, so do all fine things. Get a higher standard of artistry and craftsmanship into industry and commerce, and you will have a new motive for goodwill and fair play. The artist motive, the motive of the good craftsman, are the great needs of all those who are engaged in types of social occupation which have primarily to do with the material side of life, yes, and to teaching also, in so far as it is training children to a right appreciation of spiritual and material values. This especially is the note that must be struck more firmly and with more resonance, if individuals in the majority of social occupations are to be helped to regard their lives religiously, and to fulfil their function as members of society with religious joy.

4. *The Economic Factor in Individual Vocation.*

And now we are ready to take into account the social factors in the problem of affording every man an occupation which he can reasonably regard as a religious calling. There are harsh and intran-

sigeant factors in the social organization of the world which bear down very cruelly upon the schemes of armchair idealists. We have now to consider whether the idealism of this article is of an armchair variety, and cannot stand up to the hard facts of industrial competition, big scale production, trade regulation and counter regulation, class suspicion and distrust, a public taste ill-educated on the æsthetic side, high speed and the general dominance of material over spiritual interests.

Now these things are held to require intense specialization of labour and a highly differentiated organization of management, all of which seem to count heavily against the possibility of giving to every man an occupation worthy of his dignity as a child of God. We have, however, to a certain extent at least, eased the force of this blow to belief in the possibility of an all-round development for every human personality, by the argument that individuals differ very greatly in their instinctive tendencies, some being adapted for one form of life and some for another. To that extent we have made a case for those who would stake their belief in God's providence on the ultimate compatibility between each man doing the work for which he is qualified and all the world's necessary work getting done. We face the problem of combining economic necessity with individual advantage with all the more confidence when we have satisfied ourselves, as we reckon to have satisfied ourselves, that manual work, and the use of machinery, and the administration of large concerns where personal considerations are difficult, can all be conducted with such an eye to fitness and finish and true justice that they are capable of an essentially religious inspiration.

The contention of this article is that the variety of occupations which it conceives as capable of a fully satisfactory religious interpretation is so great and its range so wide that it does not cut away the religious foundation for a highly differentiated industrial organization and a highly complicated commercial system, such as ours seems bound to continue to be. Obviously this statement is incapable of absolute proof; but to those who have followed the foregoing argument it will not seem widely improbable, and the impossibility of Christian people being content with a view of life which does not admit of a religious interpretation may make us ready to venture on the assumption that it is true.

This does not, of course, mean that all the accepted forms of social occupation are satisfactory. Very far from that. But it does mean that the world's work is so far capable of being done on lines which allow for individual self-expression that we can proceed to tackle the problem of necessary reform with courage and hope. It will turn our reforming activities from the mood of angry despair to that of quiet constructiveness if we can believe that in spite of the vast numbers of people now engaged in occupations which cannot

afford them spiritual satisfaction, it is not in the nature of things impossible to hope for redress.

And if we can take this position, we carry the problems of social transformation into a region where religious courage and religious fervour are thrown into the scale of progress, and so get a new driving power for social reform. Also, if we dare believe that every man should have, and ultimately can have, a job which he can interpret morally and religiously, a job in which he can express himself as a spiritual man, we shall set about the work of providing men and women, boys and girls with a spiritual interpretation of work of every kind. Our schools and Churches will be concerned to show how the various types of occupation which society demands of men may be fulfilled religiously, and with spiritual satisfaction alike to the world which is benefitted and to the man who is engaged. The schools will no longer be content with the morality of " getting on " to regions where life is more luscious ; they will have to think out the moral justification for every sort of calling and for the reward which each calling wins. And as both schools and Churches, especially the Churches, will then be called on to attempt the interpretation of the more difficult cases, for which there is really no moral justification, the zeal of the educator and the evangelist will be aroused for the reform of those conditions in industry and commerce which at present do commit men and women to occupations unworthy of human personality.

But what of the meantime, during which multitudes will still have to work under conditions created by a generation which did not aspire to a completely religious conception of industry ? They will in many cases have to continue in occupations which are very far from the ideal. Whilst that necessity continues, two factors may operate to make it tolerable. In the first place, there is almost no condition of monotony or drudgery in which it is not possible by attention to *minutiæ* to put some little creative intelligence ; and wherever it is possible to put creative intelligence, it is possible to draw spiritual energy from work. The statement may sound callous from one whose own life-work is intensely interesting and very varied, and yet evidence from spheres of very monotonous occupation is forthcoming to bear it out.

We cannot, however, ask people to hold the posts which give the minimum scope to personal self-expression without recognizing, if we are Christians, that they are holding the posts of honour in the Church's battle for a spiritual interpretation of life. We are bound to surround them with all the sympathy and spiritual compensation that we can, to enrich their leisure hours to the fullest possible degree with intellectual and æsthetic satisfactions, and in other ways to fortify them for their supremely difficult and important work. These last should stand very high in our estimation and regard.

In the second place, we are bound to make our Churches places in which every movement for the bettering of the spiritual conditions of work is known and encouraged. Wherever there is an enterprise striving for fairer relationship, better craftsmanship, fully security, wider opportunity for all concerned, we should welcome that movement as an ally for Christian influence of the very front rank, and we should endeavour to send as recruits into such movements all who are seeking to take their daily work as Christian "callings." There will be many who have not sufficient initiative to carry out reforms and improve the conditions of work for themselves and their associates if they are left to face the problem in isolation. They might, however, be able to achieve a great deal in the tide of a larger movement. It is, therefore, a part of the Church's work to enable these, its less creative members, to benefit by such spiritual leadership—for spiritual leadership it surely is.

We do not suggest that the unsatisfactory terms of many persons' working occupations can be transformed in a moment; but we can attain at once to the stimulus of a genuine movement toward a great ideal and a clear vision of an ultimate goal. And when this is the case, though progress may be slow at first, all those who are looking toward the ultimate achievement can find in the most infinitesimal steps towards it some soul-stirring expression of the complete ideal, and so in days of small beginnings their souls may be upheld.

MALCOLM SPENCER.

DR. DODDRIDGE

(1702—1751)

[*The Correspondence and Diary of Philip Doddridge, D.D.* Edited from the original MSS. by his great-grandson, John Doddridge Humphreys, Esq. Five vols., Colburn and Bentley (1829–1831).]

> Live while you live, the Epicure would say,
> And seize the pleasures of the present day.
> Live while you live, the sacred preacher cries,
> And give to God each moment as it flies.
> Lord—in my views, let both united be,
> I live in *pleasure* when I live in *Thee.*

The above lines, pronounced by Dr. Johnson to be the best epigram in the English language, were written in expansion of the family motto of the Doddridges, "*Dum vivimus, vivamus*" by the celebrated Nonconformist divine whose name adorns the top of this page. And admirably well do they illustrate his literary style, talent and character.

The Doctor's (he owed his degree in Divinity to the Universities of Aberdeen) great-grandfather was a brother of a seventeenth-century Judge of the King's Bench, Sir John Doddridge. The Judge was a Barnstaple man, a well-bred Devonian, educated at Exeter College, Oxford, and honoured (with his third wife) with so stately a marble tomb in the Lady Chapel of Exeter Cathedral that he can hardly fail to attract the attention of the most careless of visitors. Sir John Doddridge, living as he did under our two first Stuart Kings, was in the course of his duties, first as Law Officer, and afterwards as a Judge, exposed to the charge of servility to the Crown; but as against this may be fairly set off a tribute to his accomplishments "as artist, divine, civil and canon lawyer" paid by the pen of Thomas Fuller.[1] Fuller tells us that Doddridge was called "the *Sleeping Judge,* because he would sit on the Bench with his eyes shut, which was only a *posture of attention* to sequester his sight from distracting objects, the better to listen to what was alledged and proved." This Judicial habit of "sequestration" still lingers on the Bench, and is sometimes otherwise accounted for. It is a legal tradition that Sir John, who was a considerable antiquarian, and a not infrequent author, is responsible for the first edition of a legal treatise known to all lawyers, addicted to learning, as *Sheppard's Touchstone of Common Assurances.* If any of my readers are ever seized with a burning curiosity to discover "What is an Escrow," I can confidently refer him or her to *Sheppard's Touchstone.*

[1] *Worthies of England,* 1662, p. 257.

Philip's grandfather was one of the "Confessors" of Nonconformity, the Rev. John Doddridge, who was ejected from his living of Shepperton in 1662, and who, as his grandson tells us, "though he had a family of ten children unprovided for, left his living worth £200 a year rather than violate his conscience." Dr. Calamy in his *Nonconformist's Memorial* assures us that John Doddridge "was of Oxford University, an ingenious man, and a scholar, an acceptable preacher and a very peaceable divine."

I have felt it my duty to hunt through Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy . . . "in the late Time of the Grand Rebellion"* to find out, if I could, how John Doddridge obtained the living of Shepperton, and who was his immediate predecessor; for quite possibly the "peaceable" Doddridge may in Cromwellian and Presbyterian times have turned out an equally "ingenious" member of his own University for refusing to read the then "established Form of Public Worship." But Walker has very little to say about the sufferings of the Clergy in Middlesex, and so my search, undertaken solely in the interests of historical truth, was in vain.

Philip Doddridge's father was a well-to-do oil merchant, who married a daughter of a Lutheran minister in Prague, who in 1626 (for the seventeenth century was everywhere a troublesome one for the proprietors of delicate consciences) had to fly his country, and pick up a living (and a very precarious one) by keeping a school at Kingston-upon-Thames.

Of this marriage there was issue (*horribile dictu!*) twenty children, eighteen of whom perished in infancy, leaving the last of the brood, and one most affectionate sister, the sole survivors. When we remember that the mother of the Wesleys had nineteen children, of whom thirteen early succumbed, many thoughts, both for and against large families, crowd upon the mind.

Doddridge's biographer, the Rev. Job Orton, tells us that Philip's education was begun by his mother teaching him the Bible history from the pictures on the Dutch tiles in the chimney-corner.

The once popular *Family Expositor*, in six volumes, bears the traces, in the vivacity of its style, of this fire-side origin of its author's studies.

Coming now to the subject of this paper, I must ask permission to deal with a difficult task (for the doctor was both a diffuse writer and the most volatile of divines) after the same fashion as the one he was wont to employ in his own sermonizings, viz. by chopping my text up into four parts, or heads; and inviting you to "lend me your ears" for a short space as I handle Doddridge: *First*, as an Eminent Nonconformist; *Second*, as the Principal of a famous Dissenting Academy at Hinckley and Northampton; *Third*, as a Preacher, Hymn-writer, Author, and Letter-writer; and *Lastly*, as a Human Being, who after an active life, spent in over-taxing his

strength, died in the forty-ninth year of his age at Lisbon, on the 26th of October, 1752, O.S.

Two months later, the body of another "spent" Englishman, Henry Fielding, was laid in the same burying-ground.

And now, first, as a Nonconformist in the days of our early Hanoverian Kings.

English Nonconformity, in its modern sense, may be taken as beginning on the 24th of August, 1662, Black Bartholomew's Day. If by that date the incumbents of the Church livings had not declared in writing their unfeigned assent and consent to all and everything contained and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, a compilation which, with the alterations just made by Convocation, only made its appearance three or four days before the 24th, out they had to go. Of thirteen thousand incumbents, two thousand made this sacrifice.

This holocaust of parsons caused the very name of Subscription to be a word of horrible significance in Dissenting ears, and from that day of doom it is not too much to say that the main and most enduring difference between a Nonconformist and a Conformist was that the former regarded Subscription, whether to books, articles, canons, or formal creeds, as tyranny and bondage; whilst the latter was one who, given a pen and access to an inkpot, was ready to sign anything warranted by Convocation and enforced by Statute, without even taking the trouble of reading it. Of the countless thousands, clerics and laymen, who have since 1662 signed the Thirty-Nine Articles, how many ever first read them? and of those who did read them, how many were qualified by previous study to understand what they were about?

But it would be unfair to say that of the eleven thousand of incumbents who expressed in writing their assent and consent in 1662 to a book, which in its new form hardly one hundred of them could ever have seen, did so because they were wholly indifferent to truth, or from love of lucre, or dread of losing their social position. Not at all—the great majority signed from an intense, inbred dislike of sectaries; of "small church" groups, each stamped with the personality of its founder; of "fancy" religions and "fancy" prayers. And, indeed, if by a scratch of his pen a man could be sure of getting rid once for all of Ludovic Muggletons and Joanna Southcotts, and possibly of some others, "subscription" could hardly be reckoned an unpardonable sin against Christian liberty.

But no such easy way of getting rid of what we do not like is open to us. In this matter, oaths, subscriptions, public confessions of Faith, compulsory church attendances, legal disqualifications, have been proved to be quite futile to put down religious differences. The "pen" is here not mightier than the sword, for as a persecutor, the Duke of Alva, failure as he was, was not so complete a failure as

were Lord Clarendon and his restored master, in their attempts to secure uniformity of public worship and control over education.

By the time Philip Doddridge had appeared on the scene many of the old Puritanical objections to the Liturgy of the Reformed Church of England, such as the use of the surplice, the ring in matrimony, etc., had lost their force. The pious, learned and dignified leaders of Nonconformity, bewigged, begowned, and banded, of Doddridge's day, were far better representatives of the piety, sobriety and reverence for divine things within the Church of England than were the Paleys, the Warburtons, the Hurds, and the Hoadlys of the same period.

Doddridge's Nonconformity sat lightly upon him save in this one particular of Subscription. Subscribe he would not, either to the formularies of the Church of England or to the Assembly's Catechism. Had he wavered on this point he might, with other eminent ministers, have become a Bishop.

His theology was based upon, though not deeply rooted in, what is now commonly called Calvinism, though Augustinianism would be the more correct expression; but he had been accustomed by his revered and much more learned tutor, the Reverend John Jennings, to a latitude of expression "which the Scriptures indulge and recommend" that made "the trammels" of subscription ever distasteful to him.

Dr. Doddridge, like Dr. Watts, was always "suspect," in certain rigid Nonconforming quarters, on the question of the Trinity, and that the theology of both these divines was Sabellian is plain enough.

It was customary in those days to require of a young minister that he should on ordination make a confession of his faith, but as he was allowed to make it in his own language this ceremony presented no difficulty to the fluent Doddridge.

Generally speaking, I think it may be said that, apart from this question of Subscription, Doddridge might easily have been induced to conform; but as it was, he remained to the end, not indeed a "stern," for there was nothing stern about him, but an "unbending" Nonconformist, greatly rejoicing in his freedom from oaths and tests and catechisms.

In asking your attention to my *second* head, Doddridge as the Principal of a Dissenting Academy, I must pray your indulgence. The subject of these Dissenting Academies during the latter part of the seventeenth century and the whole of the eighteenth is one of considerable historical importance, and has never yet been treated as its position in the history of education in England deserves.[1] But to make a history of education instructive it must be written

[1] Much information about these Academies is to be found scattered through the eight volumes of the *Transactions of the Congregational Historial Society*.—Ed.

in detail, and the details of Education are apt to be uncommonly dry to all but experts. Besides, details cover pages.

As I must be short, I will begin by giving a useful reference to an excellent, though compressed, treatise on *The Dissenting Academies in England, their Rise and Progress and their Place among the Educational Systems of the counlry.*[1] If further particulars are required of Dr. Doddridge's own Academy at Northampton, they will be found scattered up and down the delightful volumes of the Doctor's own correspondence.

The ecclesiastical legislation of the restored Charles, inspired (so Nonconformists have always believed) by Lord Clarendon, who was a far more formidable enemy to Dissenters than ever was a much better man, Archbishop Laud, was not content in driving out two thousand English clergymen from their homes and incomes, but pursued them wherever they went in search of an honest livelihood with a savage relentless cruelty that was never forgotten. The Act of Uniformity required that every schoolmaster and every person teaching any youth in any house or private family should subscribe a declaration that he would conform to the liturgy as by law established, and should also obtain a licence to teach from his Archbishop, Bishop, or Ordinary of the diocese. Archbishop Sheldon took care to order his Bishops to see to it that all schoolmasters, ushers and private or public teachers of youth should themselves frequent the public prayers of the Church, and cause their pupils to do the same.

Two years after the *Act of Uniformity* came the *Conventicle Act*, and one year later the *Five Mile Act*, and each of these statutes contained clauses aimed directly, both at the means of livelihood of the ejected ministers, and at the last remaining remnants of religious freedom and education of Nonconformists, old and young. Was it any wonder that when Queen Anne breathed her last in 1714, and the news of her demise reached the ears of Nonconformists, as it did to many of them one Sunday morning as they were returning from the conventicles which the Revolution of 1688 had permitted them to erect, but which were then threatened by the revived High Church party, they so far forgot themselves as to break forth in cries of exultation? So long as there was the least bit of a Stuart on the throne it was a risky thing to be a Nonconformist. Indeed, at no time has it ever been an entirely pleasant thing.

This repressive and barbarous legislature failed of its immediate purposes, which were the physical and moral starvation of the Nonconformists; for even prior to the partial toleration granted after the Revolution, it seems actually to have helped forward the cause of liberal education. It is not too much to say that from 1670 to 1800 a far better education, even in the *Trivium and Quadrivium*, to say nothing of literature, elementary science, and the

[1] By Miss Irene Parker, M.A. (now Mrs. Parker Crane) (Cambridge University Press).

principles of the Christian religion, was to be had in the numerous Dissenting Academies, soon to be found in different parts of England, than could have been obtained at either of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Miss Parker in her first appendix supplies her readers with a list of the chief Dissenting Academies in England, Presbyterian and Independent, and appends to each seminary the names of some of their most eminent scholars.

Thus, at Islington Academy, first established (at considerable risk) in 1672, I notice the names of Calamy and Matthew Henry; whilst at Newington Green, under the tutorship of Theophilus Gale, an old Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, there were educated Dr. Isaac Watts, Dr. Evans, Daniel Neal (the historian of the Puritans), Henry Grove, and an Irish Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Hort, who conformed, and was raised to this giddy eminence. I cannot help thinking Josiah Hort would have been happier had he remained content with the friendship of Dr. Watts, instead of incurring the enmity of Dr. Swift, who made the Archbishop the subject of a filthy lampoon, which may still be read by those who like such things in the fourteenth volume of Sir Walter Scott's edition of Swift.

Another student at Newington Green was Daniel de Foe, who more than once in his numerous miscellaneous writings may be found boasting of the amount of solid erudition he had acquired at Newington Green, under one of the most inspiring teachers that has ever lived in England, Charles Morton of Wadham. Whether the author of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* actually knew five languages, as he asserts, need not worry us, for he certainly was the master of one, and that one he was taught by Morton, who was the first of his conservative clan to lecture in English instead of Latin.

Morton's success as a teacher naturally called down upon him the odious attentions of the Law Officers of the Crown, and he had to desert Newington Green, and carry his great gifts to New England, where he speedily became Vice-President of Harvard.

The Academy at Tewkesbury, established in 1680, must be men tioned, not so much on account of Archbishop Secker, who probably obtained there the most valuable part of his education, but because of another Tewkesbury man, Joseph Butler, the great Bishop of Durham. Butler on conforming left Tewkesbury for Oxford, but in his letters to the famous Dr. Clarke, with whom he had begun to correspond before leaving Tewkesbury, he tells us that he found the Oxford studies dull and useless even as did Gibbon some years later.

Some idea may be gained of the actual course of study pursued at these Dissenting Academies from reading the second appendix in Miss Parker's book, where she prints from one of Doddridge's letters [1]

[1] To be found in the second volume of his *Correspondence*, p. 462.

the course at Kibworth, where, under the tutorship of Mr. Jennings, Doddridge himself studied. The course occupied four years, and needless to say, when the pupil became the Principal, and the Academy was removed to Northampton, Doddridge, who venerated the name of Jennings, did his best to pursue the same methods.

These Dissenting Academies were by no means confined to candidates for the ministry of any particular denomination, but were open to all who could pay the very moderate fees, and were in search of a general education, of the kind now called Secondary. They were not Grammar Schools. Many scholars proceeding from these Academies lived to become eminent doctors and lawyers and successful and cultivated merchants, as well as archbishops, bishops, and Dissenting ministers. Nor was the theology taught in any sense sectarian, though avowedly Christian and devout. Later on, when these Academies became more and more training colleges for ministers connected with different bodies of Dissent, their distinctive glory departed.

I am now left with only two "heads" on my hands, first, the Preacher, Hymn-writer and Author; and then and lastly, the Human Being as he is revealed to us by his letters.

As a preacher Doddridge must have been both pleasant and profitable to listen to, but the easy diffuseness of his style makes quotation, at this time of day, flatly impossible. Is not fluency, as distinguished from real eloquence, a bar to quotations? If you once begin quoting Hazlitt, you know not where to stop; but if you wish to quote from Doddridge, you know not, good as it all is, where to begin.

His *Family Expositor* once stood in the book-rooms of thousands of homes, where books did not abound, and was for a long period of time in daily use. Bishop Warburton, with whom Doddridge was on far too easy terms, praised the *Expositor* with apparent *gusto*, but had he ever read it? His wife, who was a pious woman, may have done so.

One of Doddridge's most popular books, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*, is traditionally credited with the conversion of the "celebrated" William Wilberforce, who in a note to one of the manliest and outspoken of religious treatises, the once famous *Practical View of the prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians, contrasted with Real Christianity* (1797), mentions this work of Doddridge's, and other similar productions, in terms of warm approval and gratitude. This *Practical View* earned for Wilberforce in the House of Commons and the country the nickname of the "Saint."[1] It

[1] Dr. Doddridge's *Rise and Progress* made an immediate appeal to many people, and we find the Duchess of Somerset in 1750 writing to its author as follows: "I had not the pleasure of being acquainted with any of your writings till I was at Bath three years ago, with my poor Lord, when an old acquaintance of mine, the Dowager Lady Hyndford,

has always been obvious enough that the early "Evangelicals" derived the greater part of their pious fervour from the writings of Nonconformists—Baxter, Howe, Owen, Doddridge, and others of the same school. The hungry sheep within the fold of the Establishment looked up and were fed and Christianized by "sectarian" authors. It could hardly be otherwise, for of "Church Principles," in the Gladstonian sense, the poor things seem never even to have heard.

As a hymn-writer Doddridge was only permitted to attain to real eminence with one or two examples. Here again his fatal gift of fluency and ease of composition played him false. A fluent hymn, like an eloquent *extempore* prayer, must always be an abomination in the hearing of the Lord. Doddridge composed hundreds of hymns, of which only two or three survive; but these are enough to keep his name alive, wherever piety meets to praise God.

O God of Bethel, by Whose hand
Thy people still are fed,
Who through this earthly pilgrimage
Hast all our fathers led.

Our vows, our prayers, we now present
Before Thy throne of grace,
God of our fathers, be the God
Of their succeeding race.

And again:

Hark! the glad sound the Saviour comes,
The Saviour promised long—
Let every heart prepare a throne
And every voice a song.

Dr. Watts, save when paraphrasing a Psalm of David, never comes up to Doddridge at his best.[1]

I cannot pass away from Doddridge's books without saying something about the one of them that attained a greater popularity in the outside world, and has been more frequently re-printed than any of his other publications. I refer to the book called *Some remarkable*

recommended me to read the *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul*; and I may with great truth assure you that I never was so deeply affected with anything I ever met with as with that book, and I could not be easy till I had given one to every servant in my house who appeared to be of a serious turn of mind." *Correspondence*, vol. v., p. 185.

[1] Nonconformist pre-eminence in hymn-writing may be seen from the fact that Sir Roundell Palmer's *Book of Praise* included 16 of Doddridge's hymns; 43 of Dr. Watts'; 27 of Charles Wesley's; 20 of Montgomery's (a Moravian, James—not Robert, Macaulay's victim), and 17 of John Newton's, Cowper's friend. These head the list, but the collection was made sixty years ago. To-day it would have been cut down by one-half at least.

passages in the Life of Colonel James Gardiner, published in 1747, and often re-printed by the Religious Tract Society.

Colonel Gardiner (1688–1745) was as gallant a soldier as ever fought and swore in Flanders. He was desperately wounded at Ramillies (1706), and some ten years afterwards entered Paris, in great state, as Master of the Horse to our Ambassador, Lord Stair. It was his fate to die a hero's death at Preston-pans, in the unhappy affair of the Forty-Five.

In his early days in Paris the Colonel led a loose life, and it was whilst waiting to keep an unlawful assignation with the wife of a surgeon that, in order to while away the time, he took up a pious book, once given him by his mother or his aunt, either Gurnall's *Christian Armour* or Watson's *Christian Soldier*, and whilst thus occupied he underwent the experience which Doddridge, who had it from the Colonel's own lips, for they had become friends and correspondents, describes as follows :

> He thought he saw an unusual blaze of light fall on the book while he was reading, which he at first imagined might happen by some accident in the candle. But lifting up his eyes, he apprehended to his extreme amazement that there was before him, as it were suspended in the air, a visible representation of the Lord Jesus Christ upon the Cross, and was impressed as if a voice had come to him, to this effect, though he was not confident as to the very words, " Oh, sinner, did I suffer this for thee, and are these the returns ? " But whether this was an audible voice, or only a strong impression on his mind, he did not seem very confident—though to the best of my remembrance he rather judged it to be the former. Struck with so amazing a phenomenon as this, there remained hardly any life in him, so that he sank down in his chair and continued, he knew not how long, insensible.

From that time forward the Colonel led a godly, sober and pure life.

There are usually two versions of out-of-the-way occurrences. Colonel Gardiner, though the last man in the world to boast of his prowess on the battle-field, was not equally reticent on the subject of his remarkable conversion, and was in the habit of recounting it to different companies, composed of very different auditors. Dr. Doddridge, who—though a credulous person in such matters—was a man whose verbal veracity cannot be questioned, assures us that he tells the Colonel's story as it was told to him by the Colonel himself. But in the interesting autobiography of Dr. Alexander Carlyle (Blackwood, 1860), an equally veracious, though most secular-minded Presbyterian divine, who lived so far down as 1805, tells us that though Colonel Gardiner told him the story of his conversion on three or four distinct occasions, and dwelt on the assignation and the pious book, he never so much as mentioned either the vision or the voice.

As Dr. Carlyle, though a minister of the Kirk of Scotland, was a

sceptic of the school of David Hume, and would not have believed a word about either the vision or the voice, the Colonel may have concluded that it would be useless to mention them. On the other hand, without the vision and the voice the story is one hardly worth the trouble of such frequent repetitions.

However, from the Colonel's point of view, his conversion was the most important matter, and on that Dr. Carlyle throws no manner of doubt.

Sixty years ago this story, as narrated by Doddridge, was still frequently discussed in pious circles.[1]

I have now come to the end, for I find it impossible in the space at my disposal to deal with Doddridge as a Human Being. He is too *diffuse* to be distilled into an epigram or dismissed in a paragraph. You must read his letters as he wrote them—at length. As a letter-writer he has great merits. His merriment is not parsonic, though always pious.

That Doddridge was a "great lover" is soon made manifest to any reader of his correspondence. Fortunately for him, he lived in days when a large amount of kissing pretty women was allowed to pass unrebuked. Erasmus tells us in his letters how he appreciated this English custom of frequent salutation. He could not have appreciated it more than Dr. Doddridge. This agreeable habit or custom may have lingered longer among the Scotch than it has with us, for certainly, if Mrs. Thomas Carlyle is to be credited, Lord Jeffery was accustomed to embrace her with an animated vivacity that even Doddridge could not have surpassed. (See her last letters [1924], p. 198).

Doddridge's love affairs are narrated by him at Richardsonian length, though in a vein of high spirits and genuine humour. His courtships, though sometimes prolonged, were not (with one exception) successful, but he bore his disappointments with Christian resignation; and when he did marry he made the best of husbands, and to the end of his life, whenever he was away from home, as he frequently was on his preachings, he bombarded his wife with letters in which the ardour of the lover was never lost in the dull composure of the husband.

The pair had nine children, but when the Doctor died he left

[1] No reader of *Waverley* should need to be reminded that Colonel Gardiner appears as Waverley's commanding officer. "In person he was tall and handsome and active, though somewhat advanced in life. In early years he had been what is called, by manner of palliative, a very gay young man, and strange stories were circulated about his sudden conversion from doubt, if not infidelity, to a serious, if not enthusiastic, turn of mind. It was whispered that a supernatural communication, of a nature obvious even to the exterior senses, had produced this wonderful change, and though some mentioned the proselyte as an enthusiast, none hinted at his being a hypocrite. This singular and mystical circumstance gave Colonel Gardiner a peculiar and solemn interest in the eyes of the young soldier" (*Waverley*, chap. vii). See also *Varieties of Religious Experience*, by William James, p. 369.

behind him only his widow, one son and three daughters. The son, though he began well, was not a success, though he lived to be forty-seven. One of the three daughters married and had children; the other two remained unmarried, and died far advanced in years. The widow survived her volatile husband thirty-nine years, and died in 1790.

No "eminent Christian," and such Doddridge most emphatically was, better exemplified in his life the truth and beauty of his own lines:

> Lord, in my views let both united be,
> I live in *pleasure* when I live in *Thee*.

AUGUSTINE BIRRELL.

FOR SALVATION

UNDER the menace of a cloud
That lowered impenetrably black,
With eyes downcast and spirit bowed
He failed to keep the track.

Ah, but he suffered for his fault!—
Benighted, storm-lashed and astray,
Unguarded from wild beasts' assault
He blindly watched for day.

Through thickets of sharp thorn, and where
The foot found only treacherous rest,
Alone, yet dogged by stark despair,
Onward at dawn he pressed.

Until the path his folly lost
He won again with thankful tears,—
Yet shrinking, doubtful of the accost
Of his unfaltering peers.

But if, with eyes that Heavenward dare,
And spirit by new faith upborne,
He keeps the road, though still aware
Of flesh and garments torn,

Will any in the Saviour's name
Deny his hand a wonted grip,
Or hint that he must no more claim
Uplifting comradeship?

J. CARTWRIGHT FRITH.

JESUS, PAUL, AND THE PHARISEES

THE association of these three names in one title will indicate the scope of this article. Jesus alone would be an inexhaustible subject, as the literature of twenty centuries can bear witness. But the question of the relation between him and the Pharisees can be answered with no great expenditure of words. The orbit of Jesus crossed that of the Pharisees at only one point, and the meaning of what happened at that point, whether it be rightly or wrongly described, is but a small factor in the total significance of either.

So too the relation between Paul and the Pharisees, though his attitude towards them was different from that of Jesus, is only a minor element, certainly not the chief factor, in the total significance of Paul; while in that of the Pharisees Paul's relation to them does not count at all. For anything that the Pharisaic literature contains there might never have been a Paul. It may therefore be possible, within the moderate compass of an article, to deal with the problem presented by the two relations indicated—that of Jesus and that of Paul towards the Pharisees.

That the relation of Jesus to the Pharisees is represented in the Gospels as one of hostility needs no showing. The denunciations in *Matt.* 23 are not neutralized by the words of approval to the Scribe, "Thou art not far from the Kingdom of God." It may well be that the Gospel of Matthew expresses to some extent, perhaps a large extent, the attitude of the early Church towards the Pharisees rather than that of Jesus; but the severity of the language used in the Gospel could hardly have been ascribed to Jesus if it had not been on the whole consistent with his own utterances. It would be impossible to show, from the Gospels, that Jesus himself was generally friendly towards the Pharisees, and that his disciples afterwards misrepresented him.

In this connexion we are met with the significant fact that there is no evidence of any attempt to establish friendly relations between them. In such a sharp antagonism, the opposing parties could not but disapprove of each other—to put it no more strongly than that. The Pharisees made no attempt to persuade Jesus to abandon what they considered his erroneous and dangerous views. They argued against him, and, from their point of view, very forcibly; but they did not hold out any olive branch to him. Perhaps it was not to be expected that they should, being such as they are commonly supposed to have been. But what of Jesus? He was no Pharisee, so that he should be bound by their prejudice and bigotry to their own narrow range of vision. How great he was

his Church has ever since been trying to realize. Why then did he, being what he was, make no effort to open those blind eyes, unstop those deaf ears and soften those hard hearts? Did he not say himself that he was come to seek and save those who were lost? Who needed to be saved more than these men—if they were such as he considered them to be? They were in far worse case, spiritually and morally, than the publicans and sinners for whom he reserved his pity. Let the Pharisees be represented at their very worst, and only the more remarkable is the absence of any attempt on the part of Jesus to do anything with them, except denounce them. Lost they might be, but that was no way to save them. And if Jesus be, in the belief of most Christians, not merely human but divine, all the more striking is the absence on his part of any pleading with those "stubborn and rebellious sons." If, after many and fruitless attempts to show where and why they were wrong, he had finally given up the hopeless task, and had then denounced them, that would be an intelligible attitude; but, in that case, he would not, at his first encounter with them, have addressed them as "ye hypocrites." If he did make such attempts, the Gospels contain not the slightest record of them, nor the faintest indication that they ever took place.

The absence of any such attempt, however it may be accounted for, is one of the basic facts of the Gospel story. If it stood by itself it would be wellnigh incomprehensible. But some light is thrown on it by the words in which Jesus described what he understood to be his real mission, "I was not sent save to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." And who were meant by the "lost sheep" is clearly indicated when it is said that "he saw a great multitude, and had compassion on them, because they were as sheep without a shepherd." The "lost sheep" were those who had no one to care for them, who for one reason or another stood outside the range of any religious influence then exercised, those who would be called nowadays the "unchurched masses," what the Pharisees called the "*Am ha-aretz*" class. It was to these people that his heart went out, and the warmth of his sympathy and pity. To them he gave the treasure of his teaching. These were the "lost" whom he came to save. It was these who followed him, and "hung on his words listening." The intense force of his personality made itself felt indeed wherever he came, either to attract or to repel; but in the case of the "multitude" there was nothing to restrain them from following him. They were not shocked if he disregarded the Halachah, the strict rule of the Pharisees, for they were not under that rule, if indeed they knew anything about it. Here was one speaking to them whose like they had never seen or heard of, and they assuredly never troubled themselves whether he conformed to the standard of the Pharisees. When Jesus was talking to the "multi-

tude," the special objects of his love and sympathy, it is not likely that he was thinking about the Pharisees, any more than his hearers were. He and they alike stood outside the Pharisaic circle, and in their relation to each other they had no need to consider the Pharisees at all. It was only with his friends of the multitude that Jesus could enjoy the unconstrained freedom of sympathy and confidence; and it was only to them, or to his chosen disciples, that he gave his most full and explicit teaching, made his direct appeal. To others he made no appeal. If he were questioned, he answered. If he were challenged, he met argument with argument; and if he were opposed, he retorted with unsparing vehemence. But, except to his friends, his attitude was not that of one who sought to win all men to himself. As he is seen in the pages of the Gospel record, there is a certain aloofness in his attitude towards all except those to whom he felt himself especially to have been sent. To the Pharisees he showed himself hostile and distrustful. With Sadducees he never came in contact until the trial before the High Priest; and there he hardly broke his silence. The incident of the Syro-Phenician woman shows clearly that he regarded Gentiles as being outside the range of his mission, and his unwillingness to make an exception in that one case is highly instructive. When he healed the servant of the centurion, he only did so at the urgent entreaty of those who knew the soldier's character.

The facts here recited, which are plain to be seen in the Gospel narrative, go far to explain why Jesus made no attempt to win the Pharisees, or the Sadducees either, from the error of their ways. It was not to them that he felt himself to have been sent; and there is nothing to show that he had any appeal to make which should be addressed to "*all* sorts and conditions of men." Whether he were a preacher of religion and morality on the lines of the Sermon on the Mount, or an apocalyptic messenger of the Kingdom of God, a herald of the Messiah or claiming to be the Messiah himself, the scope of his appeal was restricted within the limits described above. And the proof of it is not only in the fact that no such general appeal is recorded in the Gospels, but in the further fact that if he had made such a general appeal he would have had to modify the terms of it in order to give it persuasive force. No Sadducee would be convinced, by anything that he is recorded to have said, that the Kingdom of Heaven was at hand, and that he was the herald of it, or even the expected Messiah. As in fact they were not convinced, and instead they crucified him. No Pharisee, though he believed in the coming of the Kingdom of Heaven and expected the Messiah when it should please God to send him, would for a moment admit that one who in act set aside the Torah and the Halachah could be the herald of the Kingdom. They did not admit it; and though they did not themselves compass his death, they

were at no pains to save him. As for the Gentiles, it was no affair of theirs what Jesus said or what he did, till the Roman Governor took notice of him and made an end of him. The little that Gentiles knew or thought or cared can be read in the pages of Tacitus and Suetonius.

The real Jesus, as he is disclosed in the Gospels, is only known in his full greatness through his friends, not through his critics or his enemies. The vivid and intense consciousness of God, which no one will deny that he possessed, and which was surely the main element in his personality, reveals itself in his utterances and his acts, and accounts for the profound impression he made alike upon friends and foes. But it is only as he opened his heart to his friends that he showed himself such that his followers have been drawn to him ever since. In those aspects of his character which have made him the object of love, devotion and veneration to Christians, he was not known to Pharisees, Sadducees or Gentiles, if only because they had no opportunity of such knowledge. What they did see and hear of him was not such as to incline them to be friendly towards him, or to receive what he might have to teach. Neither he nor they came into any close relation with each other, by way of mutual understanding; the only close relation between them was that of antagonism, in which they stood face to face in mutual distrust.

What he thought of them is to be read in the words spoken by him or ascribed to him, recorded in the Gospels. What they thought of him is to be read in the Talmud, in words which are the nearest approach to be found there of an official pronouncement on him, "Jesus the Nazarene goeth forth to be stoned because he hath practised magic and deceived and led astray Israel" (b. Sanh. 43^a). There is here no trace of any recognition on the part of the Pharisees that Jesus had been anything like what Christians have seen in him; it only shows that they did look upon him as a dangerous opponent of their whole system of religion, as indeed he was. But it also shows, what is worthy of notice, that the Pharisees were not aware of any special claim made by Jesus or on behalf of him to be other and more than human. It is nowhere alleged in the Rabbinical literature that Jesus ever claimed to be the Messiah, still less that he was put to death as a false Messiah. The passage just quoted is a *baraitha*; that is, it dates from a period not later than that of the Mishnah (which was completed early in the third century), and probably dates from the end of the first century. The reference to one who said that he was the Son of God, and that he would ascend to heaven, is not found till the end of the third century, by which time the affirmations of the Christian Church upon the subject would be well known to the Rabbis. Those who are so confident that Jesus not only was the Messiah but avowed himself to be, may

take note of the fact that the Pharisees, who would have been quick to turn that avowal against him, said never a word about it. They might easily be, as indeed they were, ignorant of that side of him which Christians know and revere; but they could not possibly be ignorant of a claim on his part to be the Messiah. Such a claim, if it were made, would be heard of wherever there were Jews. It was heard, a century later, in connexion with Bar Cocheba, and in his case the result was the last great war with Rome. And according to the Pharisaic view he was not the Messiah. If Jesus had been looked upon as a false Messiah, the Pharisees would assuredly have included that in their condemnation of him. They only declared that "he practised magic, and deceived and led astray Israel"; from their point of view a not unnatural description.

Enough has perhaps been said to show what was the relation of Jesus to the Pharisees during the very short time, a few months only, during which they came in contact with each other. If the description is a true one, then it represents the incidents and conflicts of those few months as they appeared at the time to those who took part in them—on the one side Jesus and on the other side the Pharisees, each feeling that the other was a hindrance and a danger. Jesus preached his Gospel out of the fullness of his heart, and the Pharisees murmured, thwarted him, and finally helped to destroy him. They, on their part, with a very deep and strong religion, and a very definite conception of the way in which alone it ought to be held and taught, saw in him one who was undermining the whole fabric of their religious system; and he turned upon them with sharp words, which Jews have not forgotten any more than Christians have.

It is only by thus getting back to the facts of the controversy as they were seen at the time that it is possible to view the relation between Jesus and the Pharisees in its true perspective. And the reason why it is seldom if ever so viewed is that the whole picture is thrown out of focus by bringing into the conception of Jesus all that nineteen centuries of belief and devotion have done to exalt and magnify him. Doubtless, whatever he truly was in himself, he was then; but it was not as the divine Christ of the Church's adoration that he appeared to those who saw him, and least of all to those who opposed him. And because Jesus is thus seen out of proportion, a wrong emphasis is laid upon his controversy with the Pharisees, as if his words were declarations of eternal values instead of being the natural expression of an opposition between antagonists on ordinary human terms. Whatever Jesus was, and whatever he has since been to his Church, for the purpose of his controversy with the Pharisees he was a man of that time alone, and his relation with them was one phase only of the process which resulted in the birth of the Christian religion and the formation of the Church.

Historically, the actual significance of Jesus as a world-figure is to be read not in reference to Judaism, but in reference to the Gentiles. Paul judged rightly that the Christian religion would find its true scope in bringing light and help to the heathen, "the people that sat in darkness and the shadow of death." The fact that Paul preached to the Jews first was only a historical necessity of the time; he was *par excellence* the Apostle of the Gentiles, and the Christ whom he preached only came into his own when "the heathen in his blindness" looked up and beheld in him the true light. The relation of Jesus to the Pharisees is a very small matter when set beside that august conception of Christ as the Light of the World. In the estimate of his full significance for humanity, that incident of his earthly life counts for almost nothing; and as it adds nothing to his real greatness, it ought not to be magnified by having his real greatness brought in as the standard of comparison. To do that is what I mean by throwing the picture out of focus. Jesus went on his way, and through the ages the faith and devotion of his followers have wrought that for the sake of which he was sent into the world. The Pharisees, with whom for a brief space he came in conflict, also went their way; and through the centuries the faith and devotion of those who followed their teaching have wrought that for which they also were sent into the world. The point where the orbits of these two crossed lies far back in the past; and the memory of it would have faded away long ago, if that which in itself was merely temporal had not been persistently viewed *sub specie æternitatis*.

In passing now to the study of the relation between Paul and the Pharisees we shall find that the problem is somewhat different, but that the same clue will lead to the solution of it. It is to be observed, in the first place, that Paul does not speak of the Pharisees by name; he always refers to the Jews and to Judaism when making his strictures upon those whose beliefs he had once shared. And this though he had himself been a Pharisee in his earlier years. His controversy, so far as it was a controversy, was not like that of Jesus, mainly concerned with the defects of character, real or supposed, of the Pharisees, but was directed to showing the inherent weakness and insufficiency of the whole structure of Judaism. Pharisaism was the strongest type of Judaism, and what Paul said hit the Pharisees harder than any other class of Jews; but it hit them all, and he never distinguished between Jews and Jews.

It is perhaps not strictly accurate to speak of a controversy between Paul and the Jews, let alone the Pharisees. It is true that he had occasional encounters with Jews, as when he preached in the synagogues, and found that his hearers were sharply divided in opinion. It is true that he met with fierce opposition on the part of Jews, as indeed is not surprising. Nevertheless, the real sig-

nificance of Paul as a world-figure is indicated by the title of the Apostle to the Gentiles. The heathen world was his real field of action, and his genius showed itself in recognizing that the Gospel of Christ was meant for the world and ought to be preached there. What the Gentile world was like in his time can be gathered from the vivid glimpses in his letters ; and its appalling condition is shown in the classical literature of the early centuries, and also in the casual hints of the Talmud. Into the details it is not necessary to go, for the present purpose. It is enough to say that the moral condition of the Gentile world, as Paul saw it, presented a problem of which he could find the solution only in Christ. Or, to put it in inverse order, the revelation of Christ, made in him and to him, opened his eyes to the possibility of bringing light into the gross darkness that covered the peoples. Whichever be the true sequence of cause and effect, it is clear that in the mind of Paul the revelation to him of Christ was most intimately connected with his mission to the Gentiles. To that sole supreme object he devoted the whole of his life from the time when he returned from his solitary retreat after his conversion ; in other words, practically the whole of his life as it is known to us. The result of his labours was the Church as an organized community, having its adherent members in many lands, all united to each other in the bond of a common faith in Christ. The organization, doubtless, was but rudimentary ; but what there was sufficed to give independent existence to a community conscious of itself in a way that had not been possible to the small band of the followers of Jesus who had held together after his death.

Now, as Christianity was, *ex hypothesi*, something other than Judaism, there was no inherent necessity for Judaism to be concerned in any way in the organization and development of Christianity. Historical reasons no doubt there were for the reaction of the one upon the other ; but the unfolding and proclaiming of the principles implied in Christianity, conceived as a world religion, and intended in the first instance for the salvation of the Gentiles, did not depend on anything which might or might not be contained in Judaism. The two religions, as I have maintained elsewhere, were and are incommensurable and irreconcilable one with the other, but not necessarily hostile. That a great amount of hostility was shown on both sides belongs to the historical circumstances of the time in which Paul lived, and has no meaning in reference to the subsequent career of the Church as the organized exponent of Christianity. Once the Church had begun to go forward in its own independent path in the world and down the ages, the significance of the task before her did not depend on any former relation in which Christianity might have stood to Judaism. And, in like manner, after the separation, Judaism went its own way in the world and down the centuries ; and the task assigned to her there,

the aims she had in view and the means by which she sought to attain them, were not in fact influenced by anything in Christianity, occasional polemics being left out of account.

When, therefore, it is a question of the relation between Paul and the Pharisees (or, as he put it, the Jews in general), that question only arises in connexion with the process by which Christianity was severed from Judaism, and set up as an independent religion. In actual time the process was not long. On the Christian side it was practically completed within the lifetime of Paul; and on the Jewish side it was recognized as an accomplished fact not later than the year A.D. 80, and perhaps earlier. That year is approximately the date when the famous prayer against the *Minim* was introduced into the liturgy of the Synagogue, as a means of detecting those who were not sound in their allegiance to Judaism, and especially Jewish Christians. Half a century, at most, from the crucifixion saw the process completed by which Christianity parted company with Judaism; and possibly the time was much shorter. What was said and done in that period, by way of indicating the relation of Judaism and Christianity, gets its meaning solely from the process of severance, and not from the fundamental truths of either religion.

It has been said above that it is not strictly true to speak of a controversy between Paul and the Jews. If Paul could have avoided the necessity of referring to Judaism he would presumably have left the Jews alone, seeing that what he had set himself to do was to go to the Gentiles and preach the Gospel to them. No doubt he would (as he did) include Jews also amongst those to whom he delivered his message, but only because they were amongst those to whom salvation was offered: "God willed that all men should be saved." But, in any case, Paul had no specific reason for controversy with Jews, as if his aim was to show to them the error of their ways. None of his writings were addressed to Jews by way of polemical attack or refutation. The reason why he had so much to say about them was that they stood in the way of what he wanted to do. Until some account could be given of the place and function of the Jewish religion now that Christianity had appeared, Christianity could not have a free course and an open field in the Gentile world. Her missionaries, Paul at the head of them, took with them the Jewish Scriptures as the ancient witness to the truth of the Gospel they preached. And those Scriptures had, naturally, much to say of the part which Jews and Judaism had played in the times before Christ, and of the pre-eminence which they claimed as the chosen people. Some explanation must be given to show why it was that the Jews had now lost that pre-eminence, and that the revelation made through Moses was superseded by that made through Christ. Nor was this all. Paul's doctrine that all mankind were shut up under sin might be true, but the facts of Judaism

did not on the face of them readily harmonize with that doctrine. He had to deal with stubborn and difficult facts before he could set Christianity free to go on its way and fulfil its mission. What Paul wrote about the Jews and Judaism are the words neither of a theologian nor of a student of history, but of a missionary desperately in earnest and eager to go about his real work.

Not indeed that Paul waited until he had settled his account with Judaism before engaging in his mission to the Gentiles; but that it was necessary for him, in the course of his work, to meet the questions of his converts and the objections of Jewish Christians by explaining to them what he conceived to be the relation of the Jewish to the Christian revelation. The explanation was given as part of the defence and exposition of Christianity, not as a dispassionate analysis of Judaism. And this goes some way towards accounting for the omissions and distortions in Paul's representation of Judaism. Christ crucified, the Saviour of the world, was the central figure of his inward vision, and the most clearly seen; Judaism was only, so to speak, at the side of the field of view, seen neither clearly nor in its true proportions. So seen, Paul wrote of it, and what he wrote has been felt by Jews ever since as a cruel wrong done to their religion. Such has certainly been the effect of his words, whatever his intention was. But that they have had this effect is due not so much to Paul himself as to those who, in the later ages of Christian history, have ascribed to his words a permanent and not merely a temporary significance. Just as we have found in the case of Jesus, so we find here also in the case of Paul, that the historical facts are seen out of focus, because viewed from the standpoint of the permanent instead from that of the temporary. What Paul wrote to meet a need which was only a passing one is regarded as a deliberate declaration of permanent truth made with all the authority of Paul, as the next greatest after Christ. The result is that not merely the Jews and Judaism but Paul as well are seen in other than their true proportions. If the truth of history be chiefly kept in view, then the relation between Paul and the Jews is seen to be a mere incident, painful indeed, but short, in the process of the development of Christianity; and the words written by him were appropriate to that episode and no more. If on the other hand the careers of Christianity and of Judaism be considered in their entirety, and the significance of each be viewed *sub specie æternitatis*, then the short time during which Paul stood in any relation at all to Judaism shrinks into nothing, and the words he wrote in reference thereto lose all their weight. The error of theologians has been, and still is, that alike in the case of Jesus and in that of Paul they have applied the standard of the permanent to the temporary, and thus have arrived at a result which is historically untrue. The real greatness alike of Jesus and of Paul is only diminished by

making it depend in the slightest degree upon the relation of either the one or the other to the Judaism with which both were associated.

The two greatest religious forces in the world in the first century, Judaism and Christianity, parted after a brief and troubled period of strife, and each went on its way. Each has its significance as a factor in the uplifting of the human race, as a means by which the eternal purpose of God is accomplished. And as that significance is not affected by, so it is in no way explained by, the circumstances which attended the separation of the one from the other. The relation of Jesus to the Pharisees and the relation of Paul to Jews and Judaism are amongst those circumstances, and have no permanent importance. Jesus remains for all time the greatest amongst the revealers of God to man ; Paul as his greatest Apostle ; and Judaism as the only religion which could make it possible for two such men to appear and whose vitality was not exhausted nor its task fulfilled in producing them.

R. Travers Herford.

AUFKLÄRUNG AND THE HYMN

The great revivals of the Church, as was long since pointed out by Julian and by John Richard Green, have been sung as well as preached into the hearts of the peoples. Leaders of great religious movements have generally themselves been hymn-writers, or have been wisely and keenly interested in hymns. Huss, Luther, Spener, Zinzendorf, Wesley, Bourne, Moody, were not only religious leaders, but were also men who discerned the enormous propaganda value of religious song. It is not uninteresting, by way of contrast, to trace the history of the hymn through the days of "Enlightenment," when an arid wind of rationalism swept over Central Europe, and religion was at a lower ebb, probably, than at any time since pre-Reformation days.

In the year following the publication of Gellert's *Spiritual Odes and Songs* (1757), there appeared a volume of *Spiritual Songs* from the pen of the most famous man of letters in Germany at that time, F. G. Klopstock. The "Songs" are of little importance to us—only one has become known on this side of the North Sea[1]—but an appendix to the volume is of the very first importance to students of hymnology. In it we find twenty-nine famous old hymns re-written, "re-composed," as Klopstock termed it. The changes he made were not very serious. Heermann's

> Mine, mine, Lord Christ, was all the blame
> Which on Thee came,"

became—

> Ours, Mediator, was the blame
> Which on Thee came.

Klopstock's desire was simply, he says, to make the hymns "worthy of religion."

But the example given in so exalted a quarter was fatal. Like a deluge there swept across the country a vandalistic mania for "improving" the old hymns of the Church. Since in 1786 Dean G. L. v. Hardenberg was able to draw up an index of 72,733 known hymns,[2] there was evidently a sufficiency of material for the "re-composers." Within the half-century practically every great city and principality had re-modelled its hymn-book. One published at Mülheim on Rhine, near the end of the century, was so full of

[1] "Lord, remove the veil away," from which Miss Borthwick, with customary grace, has removed the fustiness, letting in daylight and vernal air.

[2] Still preserved in the Library of Halberstadt.

rational hymns as to contain, in a total of 606, one example only of Luther, one of Heermann, and two of Gerhardt, all "re-composed." No wonder Klopstock in a letter to his friend, Funk, admits that he "almost regrets" the work he had set in motion. Perhaps his regret was complete when he found that the improvers were rewriting most of his own hymns!

Just as the first hymns of 1524–5 had carried Luther's teaching into the remotest corners of the country, so now the re-modelled hymns helped on the spread of rationalism. They at once adopted the vocabulary of the "enlightened." "Conversion" ("that poor-spirited pietist term") becomes "self-improvement," "sanctification" "betterment," "God" "The Supreme Being," "piety" "virtue." The emphasis in religion is no longer laid upon faith; the unhappy congregations of the land are condemned to sing interminable rhymed lectures on thrift, industry, the dignity of man and of thought, and the beauty, nurture, and use of the human body. The first to appear in print were written and published by a Berlin Oberkonsistorialrat named Dieterich, in an appendix to the *Porst*, to this day the admirable and greatly beloved hymnal of large parts of Pomerania and Brandenburg. As time went on the lectures grew worse. In the *Nordhausen* (1802), e.g. such subjects as early rising, drink, high play, the cutting down of young trees, the fear of ghosts, the desirability of dining from one dish only ("the one thing needful"!), abound.

That which, after the Living Presence of its Founder and the Bible, was the Church's most precious possession, its holy song, now stood in more eminent danger than it had done even during the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, or the Moravian extravagances of 1735–50. Personal peril at least teaches prayer, but a prayerless people bent upon "improving" a great and glorious heritage of sacred hymnody is as dangerous as a mob of *bonnets rouges* armed with hammers in a Gothic cathedral. In this respect, at any rate, the Aufklärung knew nothing of a historic sense: all its strength was to weaken, its wisdom to water down. Tieck tells in his autobiography how his mother was once singing over to him Gerhardt's exquisite hymn, "Nun ruhen alle Wälder" (a hymn honoured by being mentioned by Frederick the Great in a Cabinet order of 1780 as "soft, silly stuff"!); as she came to the line, "The whole wide world is sleeping," she was rudely interrupted by Tieck *père* with the words: "How can people sing worn-out rubbish of that sort? The whole wide world is not sleeping. In America the sun is shining and folks are awake!" In many hymnals this very line was changed to "One half the world is sleeping."

One may be sure that when "improvements" of this trivial nature were afoot, no section of the great song of the older time was safe from the hand of the vandals. Every verse of "A safe

tronghold our God is still" was altered and its magnificent finale netamorphosed into the maundering:

Though the foe should win
And take with rage from him
Who on the truth believes
All he from life receives,
Yet hath he Church and Heaven.

When a new hymnal was issued for Nassau in 1768, a part of the preface ran: "Our elegantly critical Ruler has himself undertaken he revision of each separate hymn, which has often received its nost exquisite improvements at his princely hands." Given the fact hat every petty potentate and portly Konsistorialrat in the country vas bent on such work as this, one cannot wonder that we possess n many cases scores and even hundreds of variants for one single old-time text.

Side by side with the improved hymns appeared multitudes of vholly new ones, faithful to the ideals of the rationalizers. They vere always didactic, generally dry as dust, occasionally disgusting. A mild example is No. 47 in the *Reck'sche* hymnal:

The smallest beast bestrides the earth
With the same step that I do.
It feels its dignity and worth
And keeps itself from suffering dearth
By meat and drink, as I do.
It has, like me a pulsing heart,
Has brains, and knows life's joy and smart,
Knows it must die, as I do.

Another hymn is for bankrupts—"to be sung when any of the congregational fail in business"; and yet another for schoolboys—or devotional purposes either during or after castigation by their utor! When a "rational" creed reduces the solemn praise and vorship of God to such burlesque as this, it is time for the student f hymns to take staff and pack: amid a people which through ts wisdom knows not God, there are no trophies for him.

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Passing as Germany then was through the most brilliant period f literary activity she had known since the days of Barbarossa nd Wolfram, it appears to us to-day wellnigh incredible that the ationalist chirurgeons should have been allowed to hack and hew nd cut and maim in such barbaric fashion their grand old inheri-ance of religious song. Yet for a time public opinion was almost ntirely on the side of the destroyers. Goethe indeed and Herder [1] hundered forth fulminations against them, but the Olympians of

[1] Who finely termed the hymn "The great working-tool of Christianity."

Weimar were in reality far too little in touch with popular feeling to exert much positive influence in this direction. For the protagonist of reform we must turn to a humbler sphere.

Universal as the cult of rationalism towards 1775 seemed to be, no one will suppose that the whole nation had bowed the knee to this modern Baal. As Tersteegen had written many years before:

> The race of God's anointed priests
> Shall never pass away;
> Before His glorious face they stand
> And serve Him night and day. . . .
> They are and shall be to the end
> The hidden priests of God.

Nor was the Head of the Church left now without witness. In certain parts of Hanover and Saxony, old hymn-books containing unimproved hymns were in use right through the period of the Aufklärung. Many a man beside Matthias Claudius sat still in church to sing over to himself the old words of "Commit thou all thy griefs," after the emasculated form had been chanted from the new books. But there can be no doubt that Claudius was of that race of "God's anointed priests," and that to his cheery and supremely sane conception of the faith once delivered to saints the first great successes of the revolt against rationalism are due.

Few Germans of his time possessed so charming a personality as did Claudius. From the "enlightened" pedants and materialists [1] we turn to the "Wandsbecker Messenger" with unfeigned relief and ever-growing enthusiasm. In all who approach him we find the same enthusiasm always manifest. We see Herder, whose mighty criticisms smack so frequently of gall and vinegar, humbly writing to Lavater: "Never in my life have I so desired to live with any man as I do to live with him." Not less do the younger men love him. Eichendorff, full of the zeal of a new generation, yet confesses that the presence of Claudius always "awakens within a man a wondrous home-sickness for things eternal." And to this very day, the children and the simple in heart and all such wise folk love him, with his jovial "Boten," his rollicking poems on "Goliath" and "The First Tooth" ("We'll call it Alexander"), his cheery counsels and homely hymns. Somebody has not unjustly compared him to a Christmas-tree, affording light and gifts to all who approach him. It is not the least precious feature of the study of hymnology that it should vividly recall to us so delightsome a personality as the author of "We plough the fields and scatter."

[1] "Æsthetic soap-boilers," he calls them, everlastingly serving up the material from which bubbles are made.

Yet his life was never free from care. There was love in the Wandsbeck home, but often little else, and

> Much more to us His children
> He gives our daily bread

was all too frequently a devout anticipation. Friends fell away, as they perceived the stern fight he was entering upon. Voss, at one time a daily guest in Wandsbeck, writes in 1787 that Claudius "is sinking deeper and deeper into a bottomless quagmire which he deems Paradise." Goethe holds him a "dolt crammed with naïve pretensions." Schiller launches one of his most mordant Xenien against him, and even Herder, the one member of the Weimar circle whose appreciation of hymnology was profound and sincere, begs him to give up his "fads and fancies." To whom Claudius: "So I must restrain and conceal my convictions and belief because illustrious and non-illustrious persons know better than I do, and jest about me, or because the public opinion differs from mine? What have I to do with illustrious and non-illustrious people, when the most sacred things of all are under discussion? And what concern of mine are opinions, in things not matters of opinion but of fact? Does a man ask his neighbour if the sun shines?"

"Let Germany never forget," to quote Herder once again, "the valiant poet who spoke, as few have done, with the unmistakable and genuine accents of nature." The life and work of Claudius stands out like some richly verdant oasis in the midst of desert dearth and spiritual barrenness. The three verses (out of seventeen) of the one hymn of his that we all know, compose no ordinary religious lyric, no academic creation. "We plough the fields and scatter" is a heap of Galeed, a pillar of Ebenezer. It hands on to all ages the assurance that no matter how the face of truth be obscured, the pure in heart shall still and do see God. It is a priceless remnant torn from the oriflamme of one who waxed valiant in fight, and who in his own person ensured the ultimate putting to flight of armies of aliens. He was a man who in very deed lived out his last written words: "We are not sent into this world to be make-weights, but to get ripe for another. . . . There is but One who can aid us in this. To Him be glory for ever and ever. Fare you well."

It was not Claudius's privilege to found a school of poets to carry on the work he had first started in Wandsbeck. But though the story is too long to record here, his "Boten" did not fall to the ground unheeded. Men of piety and great intellect were forthcoming who carried on and enormously extended his work. Menken in Bremen, Tholuck in Halle, Hengstenberg, Neander, and "that right stalwart barrister of God," Schleiermacher, in Berlin, were a few of the great leaders; the rank and file were not slow to follow. The three

hundredth anniversary of the Reformation helped. In imitation of its great leader, a student of Schleiermacher, Harms, published in 1817 his ninety-five theses against rationalism, the quotation of one of which will indicate the entire content: "The so-called religion of reason is either devoid of reason, or of religion, or of both." A feeling became general that the improved hymn-books must themselves be improved out of existence. The decision of the Provincial Synod of Berlin in 1817, in favour of "a better hymn-book," and the publication of Kanne's "unimproved" *Selected Christian Hymns* at Erlangen in 1818 were clear tokens of victory.

Many explanations of this most radical change have been offered. To one man it appears a consequence of the romantic revival which was at that time evident in all the civilized countries of Europe; to another it was a resultant of Schelling's mystic and æsthetic philosophy; to another it was the preaching and teaching of the great leaders mentioned in the last paragraph. Yet there can be no doubt that the main cause operating in such a revolution was the war. Just as in the days of Stegmann and Rinckart, all the old pedantic squabbles were hushed into silence in the presence of pain and desolation and death, so now once more when the armies of Napoleon were turning Germany into one vast drill-ground, the hearts of the people craved stronger support than the watery creed of the rationalists. And as by dint of search hither and thither there were unearthed some of the priceless songs of generations long past, the astonishment of the people was boundless. "This, then," cries one [1] who has discovered some such treasure trove, "was the fare upon which our forefathers were bred. This was the dish which was served up to them in the church and the school and the home. That I should have found a few crumbs of it is a matter for which I can never sufficiently thank Providence." Only slowly was the knowledge of this old heritage disseminated, for in the scores of versions, some more "improved," some less, which existed of almost every ancient hymn, it was of course extremely difficult to come upon the right one. When in 1819, however, Ernst Moritz Arndt published his great attack upon the improvers,[2] the whole country was prepared for it and applauded his spirited criticisms to the echo. "After the precious heritage of our Lutheran German Bible," he wrote therein, "the real kernel of Protestantism has been enshrined in our hymns. For long years this kernel remained amongst us in its fair entirety, unassailed and undiminished. Only in the last half-century have mice who, when all is said and done, have not had very sharp teeth, begun to nibble at it, if not to tear it to pieces, at any rate to gnaw it to shreds. The strong healthy food of the old hymns has been taken away,

[1] Choirmaster Robert Franz of Halle.
[2] *Vom Wort und vom Kirchenlied*, Bonn, 1819.

nd instead we have had placed before us less nourishing and more atery stuff. . . . But this age of sophistry and 'enlightenment' es behind us. It is time to put a definite stop to the great famine hich prevails among our people, because of their meagre and anty hymnals." And further on, in the same animated plea, eferring to the two poets who had perhaps suffered most at the hands f the improvers, he proceeds to say: "I am not here to class as crosanct anything that Luther has written or Gerhardt sung, for ey were but mortal and sinful men. But it is in and through at which is mortal that the immortal and quenchless Spirit lives nd works. Hence is it certain that as long as the German tongue xists, so long will the major part of the hymns of Luther or Gerhardt ve and be sung in the Christian Church, since they were composed, ot by Luther or Gerhardt, but by the Spirit of God."

The publication of Arndt's words was in itself sufficient to ensure ictory. Town by town and state by state hymn-books were rescued om the "improved" texts. Completeness of triumph was added y the sterling and scholarly work of Stier, Knapp, Bunsen, and Vackernagel.

SYDNEY H. MOORE.

"UGLINESS IS BLASPHEMY"[1]

AN EXECRABLE BAD RHYME IN DUBIOUS TASTE

THE great and holy angels
Came to our church to-day,
But the pretty little angels
Who round God's footstool play
Peeped in and flew away.

The great and holy angels
They see God face to face,
But the pretty little angels
Who have not so much grace,
They couldn't bear the place.

They saw the varnished pitch-pine,
They saw the stencilled paint,
They found the windows tightly shut,
It made them feel quite faint.
They said, "'Twould try a saint!"

[1] Suggested by an article in the April CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY.

Yet Gabriel and Michael
Stood up serene and fair,
Sang with the congregation,
Joined in the parson's prayer,
And didn't seem to care.

And after church was over
The angels met again,
And Raphael asked the little ones
That they should just explain
The reason of their pain.

" For," said the holy angel,
" You know where two or three
Are met to praise our Father,
There in the midst is He,
How weak soe'er they be,

" And thus to-day they praised Him.
You can't expect them here
To build a place like Heaven,
And yet their praise is dear.
Have I made that quite clear ? "

But the critical small angels
They had their answer pat :
" We know they sing God's praises,
But need they sing them *flat*,
Or choose a tune like that ?

" We know this is not Heaven,
Yet Beauty here might be
If men would be more simple
And learn to *hear* and *see*.
You surely must agree."

With that the little angels
To search the land flew forth,
And brought what they considered
Were things of grace and worth—
The best they found on earth.

They brought a pail of white-wash,
They brought a bunch of may,
They brought an honest woven rug,
A patchwork quilt and a painted jug
To make the church look gay.

* * * *

What *will* the deacons say ? C. M. W.

PULPIT, PEW AND POLITICS

Who does not often find himself in agreement with some of those hundred truths which, as Hazlitt said, Burke sometimes uttered in coming to a false conclusion? Here is one from his attack on the Rev. Dr. Price in *The Reflections on the French Revolution*: "Politics and the pulpit are terms that have little agreement. No sound ought to be heard in the Church but the healing voice of Christian charity."

I certainly am not one of those who desire the discussion of current politics from the pulpit. Still less do I suggest in these days that those in the pew should belong to any particular political party. There is justification for anyone who finds himself in any party, but all politicians are the better the fresher and deeper their contact with religious life and experience. A Member of Parliament said the other day in the House of Commons: "Thank God, the leader of the Liberal Party does not address religious meetings." If that were true, which it is not, I should find no satisfaction in it. It would mean a certain loss of quality in the proclamation of a political faith which needs for its commendation something of a religious fervour, and religious fervour is generated by contact with religious people. Whatever criticism may be made of those who yield to their emotions, coldness and austerity cannot live in their neighbourhood, and there is less danger in politics than in religion in men and women being carried away by their feelings. Politics demand constant effort and patience, and people must be lifted to something above their ordinary selves. As Cobden said in the corn law agitation: "It appears to me that a moral and even a religious spirit may be infused into that topic, and if agitated in the same manner as the question of slavery has been, it will be irresistible."

There are problems as great as slavery and the corn laws in our day that must be approached in this way if they are to be solved at all. Any apathy towards them in the pew, when it is known that without the help of the best of the people, given without hesitation and without stint, there can be no real hope for the League of Nations, is amazing. Excuses for that apathy cannot be found in the disorganization of political parties, in the alleged want of political leadership, or in the disposition of leaders to talk too much of the glories of the past and to present too indefinite a programme for the present. We need, in proper measure, to be reminded of the past, in order that we who continue to bear a name may be worthy of it. In days gone by our fathers did not wait for leaders, they prompted public action; hence many a gibe at the "Nonconformist conscience."

But "Nonconformity," said Bishop Creighton, "can point to the record of undoubted service which it rendered to England in times gone by." "Dissent," wrote John Morley as long ago as 1873, "is not picturesque, but it possesses an heroic political record. It has little in the way of splendour and state, but it has a consistent legend of civil enlightenment. It may lack mild majesty, but it has always shown honest instincts." Those were the days when John Bright said Dissenters were expected: "To hope all things, to believe all things, and to endure all things." "Dissent"—while to-day the name is not so favoured—has become more picturesque; it has something more of splendour and state and mild majesty than it had fifty years ago. Let it be careful of its heroic political record, of its legend of civil enlightenment, and let it continue to show those honest instincts and records of undoubted service. Indifference or unintelligent and careless acceptance can be met anywhere. We have a right to expect that something quite different should pervade the Churches. In them should be found a serious attempt to understand principles, to form opinions, to be in advance not only in thought with regard to the things that most matter, but in appreciation of those who are making practical efforts towards their attainment. The want of this relation of religion to practical life, the aloofness of many of the ordinary worshippers from public affairs, as well as the desire for greater opportunities for direct participation in religious service, have accounted for successful "Brotherhoods" in languishing Churches. These are the words of Dr. Garvie, Vice-President of "Copec": "The saintship aloof from the ways and works of men must be replaced by a saintliness alive amid their busiest haunts."

I am not proposing to add to the many and varied dissertations on what a Church should be in these days, nor to recall remarkable sermons preached during the war by Nonconformists as well as by Bishops. "Copec," again, has been a sufficient reminder; and it has become a refinement of cruelty to preserve press-cuttings. Against all that is said of the Churches I am content to assert that a ministry which appeals to

The depth and not the tumult of the soul

was never more needed and never more sure of response than in these days. Such a ministry could not fail to impress upon congregations their active duty outside, their opportunity to leaven the indifferent and the self-indulgent, for it is they and not the hostile who in these days have to be met. We are constantly told that the fewer in the churches are no longer there from mere conventional motives, filling pews because their parents sat there, or directed there by a sort of spiritual police force.

On a clear day, say from Primrose Hill, we can look over London

and see more church spires than any other buildings of interest. Tell a stranger from some other world what these spires are supposed to indicate, of the message of all, the organization for its delivery, the ministry, the services, the music, the congregations, the mere money involved, endowed and contributory, and he would surely say: "What a perfect world it must be! What noble cause can go without its daily advocate! Under such encouragement, what constant advances must be made." But are these Churches always the generating stations of moral impulse? Are they the places where great things really happen, or are expected to happen? How often is the message delivered as though it were a real one? Would any political party which had periodically to "go to the country" be able to carry on in this way? How far are the results which are attained due to the fact that most people are happily endowed with a spirit of good will and to what they bring to rather than what they find in the Churches?

The accretions upon some of our institutions have made them time-honoured but unfitted for their original purpose. The machinery of organization becomes clogged and wants that overhauling which only one in three or four generations troubles to give it, and then there is a tendency to smash rather than to adjust it. The two things needed are rarely found in combination—appreciation of and attachment to principle, and adaptation to the views and needs of each generation. Timidity is responsible for the greatest failures. If every minister could come back from a holiday or a conference as one of whom I read a year or two ago, how great would be the advantage! For he came back with a feeling that the first need was for *reality*, that there was scarcely a place where unreality had such scope as in the Christian Church, which is so terribly afraid of hurting the susceptibilities of the weaker brother, who therefore sets the pace. "The Church has lost the spirit of adventure. We do not strike our tents and go forward, because some of us object to the march, and we do not like to leave them behind." "I am not surprised," he continued, "the Church of Jesus Christ is being left behind, for we have retained a great many of the forms but lost a good deal of the power. We have spoken piously and thought piously because we knew it was the right thing to do, but a living, energizing, joyous faith has been the exception rather than the rule."

If great opportunities are neglected and difficult problems are shirked in expectation that some "quickening of the spirit" will miraculously supply the want of human effort, the cause is kept alive only by the energies of the few. And these few have nearly always counted as much in public life as in their Church. Who does not know and honour them, especially in the rural districts?

Church people must mix with action, or they will wither by despair. Action does not merely mean activity in organizations

in their own Church, its numerous Sunday and weekday meetings, or its connexional conferences, but action in the public life of their day and in their neighbourhood. A want of this active share in public life is just as injurious to the Churches as it is to the political parties. The influence of the Churches is dissipated as much as the moral force of politicians is lowered by this want of contact.

As we look back on the career of Gladstone we see many errors of judgment. We no longer read his speeches, and we perhaps marvel at their effect and at the subservience of his colleagues. We sometimes ask ourselves what, after all, was the secret of his greatness. We may be sure that it was as much in his character as in his gifts; that it was because, like Burke, he could not separate politics from religion; because Spurgeon could assure him of those who felt it a joy to live when a Premier believed in righteousness, or the hypercritical and sarcastic Robert Lowe confessed a feeling for him as of a dog for its master.

During the war it was not by their aloofness from public affairs that the Churches attempted to justify themselves. One need not recall recruiting sermons; one has only to look at the Rolls of Honour, which should above all be reminders that the Peace for which these men fought will only be ours if we continue the effort to secure and preserve it. It is, therefore, a very unsatisfactory state of affairs, from the Churches' point of view, that less than four hundred thousand people have thought it worth while to connect themselves with the League of Nations Union, the one non-party organization that exists for the purpose of the cultivation of opinion and the marshalling of the forces in support of what is admitted to be the only hope of the future. These Rolls of Honour, in every church in the land, should have stimulated the most sluggish to do the little which was asked of them. Perhaps we are only beginning to realize the loss when we see how little is done without those whose names are written there. While every aspect of public life is the poorer, the ministry and the pew would have been beautiful with that life and experience and enthusiasm which has been cut off. "They were likely, had they been put on, to have proved most royally."

Can the apathy of the pew be charged to the account of the pulpit? There have often been vigorous pulpits which created large congregations, whose enthusiasm seemed to evaporate as they left the building; but an inspiring ministry must always have its very great effect, especially when joined, as it was in John Clifford, with ceaseless activity in all great causes and love for all sincere though obscure workers. The absence of such an inspiration is largely responsible for the suggestion that the power of the pulpit and platform is passing to the press. No intelligent pressman, however,

will believe this, nor will the gift of utterance of the faithful message face to face be displaced by broadcasting. Men and women may not be influenced so much by organization, nor follow after celebrated preachers, but organizations well adjusted, and preachers who deserve celebrity will have great influence, and in no spirit of mere fanaticism the age will always be prepared to do much under the inspiration of those who combine eloquence with sacrifice.

The trouble with the pew is not so much that people desert it, but that they still continue to occupy it through habit, and almost through obstinacy, whereas from other organizations they resign their membership. Some continue in an association which was never founded on principle, and may even have been due to prejudice, and a leadership assumed by people of this type may for a generation cast a spell upon their surroundings.

Dr. Clifford, shortly before his death, said: "I have preached a few sermons in my day. I have been at it over sixty years, but when I look back upon my life, the thing that I thank God most for is that I have come into touch with the lives of young men and women, not from the pulpit, but in my own room." How well it would be if all ministers appreciated this message of the old master. What phrase comes more trippingly on the tongue of ministers, editors, leaders of societies, and popular speakers, than that of "Our young people"? But where do these young people really come in, in competition with the older ones? Before the war they were always obligingly referred to as the coming generation, the hope of the future, but they were never actually a power in the present. It was assumed that they would stand by while their supposed interests were discussed, and take the part allotted to them. During the war it was the commonest thing to hear spokesmen of all organizations telling us that the world was being reborn in the trenches, that when the young men came back they would take charge, that the older ones, merely caretakers, would gladly give up, and would welcome them into the fullest authority and accept their guidance towards the better things for which they were fighting. Where is now the appreciation that youth must be encouraged to take its place in the work of peace?

The Churches have not found it easy to enroll in responsible positions the young men whom they so eagerly claimed as adherents at the beginning of the war, but who are not coming back to accept any position tendered to them. A great many of these young people had only family connexions with the Churches, and candid people recognized long before the war that their Churches were losing touch with the rising generation. They fondly hoped that the war would bring the young people back; indeed, in the early stages, an appearance of a revival of religion really seemed to make the war a sort of God-send. We see now that things do not come about in this way,

that the only sort of possible blessing connected with war is its purge, and there is no purge if the survivors are still of the same old opinion, or revert to their practices, think only of the war as an interruption, and even excuse their inefficiency to-day on account of that interruption. War may have been necessary to arouse some people to a sense of their degradation ; but that they should be prepared to sink back under cover of the lassitude and discontent of after-war conditions would be more deplorable still, a tragedy superimposed upon that of 1914.

This inability of age to appreciate youth has been a baffling problem for all time. In the Church there is often an uneasiness in its presence. Who has not known ministers, intimate with the heads of families since the children first came, habituated to speak of and to young people from the pulpit, recognizing their societies in the Church, but having no real knowledge of youth and its aspirations, and often sadly at a loss when called into free conversation ; who do not know Tom from Dick, or Joan from Mary, in the family, who only know one of the " Jones boys " or one of the " Smith girls," have no sort of understanding of their separate aims and gifts, and while discussing variety from the pulpit have only recognition of a class elsewhere ? And so these young people have grown up, " thinking for themselves," we may say when we flatter them, " thoughtless," when they annoy us. But long before it was customary to speak of them so they had determined that things would not do for them which had done for others. And so it became common enough to hear the question asked : " Why were the young people leaving the Church for another Church, or no Church ? " Questions which should have been asked and were rarely asked were : " Why were the young people who did not take the trouble to leave the Church really having no part or interest in it ? " and " Why were those in charge of the Church content to believe that they had with them those over whom they had no influence ? " Where is the organization or party which esteems it the first duty to secure the young ?

Facts have been so fully admitted by leaders of the Churches that resentment cannot be felt at free speech. A president of conference, some years ago said : " The man in the street has come to look upon Churches as middle-class clubs or mutual benefit societies." There were people who objected to politics in the Churches ; but the cry of " no politics " in the Church seemed to come from the person who was profiting by the present system. A certain Canon thought the clergy seemed afraid of the topics of the hour. Bishop Welldon said the clergy needed more intellectual power and less exclusiveness. The *Church Times* protested against traffic in ready-made sermons and the want of exposition and instruction in those who relied upon a gift of persuasive utterance. Strangers certainly often complain

of a want of real welcome in the Churches. The story is told of a man sitting in a back pew of a London church who was seen to have his hat on. The minister sent a deacon to ask him if he was aware of it. "Thank God," said the man, "I thought that would do it. I have attended this church for six months, and you are the first man who has spoken to me."

One of the greatest causes of failure and disappointment is the willingness to accept anything, the hesitation to encourage only the best. Great things get done in the faith that all things are possible, and nothing can long be beneficial to people which they have not themselves contributed to bring about. The failure to keep in touch with the peoples' desires and aspirations, to carry them along with any movement, constantly to see that organization does not develop into a cold system is the cause too often of actual falling away or retention of mere nominal strength. The churches are not empty, indeed it would be difficult really to empty them; while some emptied, others would be opened. Religious instinct is natural to man. Emotion may be the product of mere sentiment, and of the habit of numbers of unthinking people meeting together. It has always been a mistake to count these emotional elements, because they are the largest, as the real religious forces. But man is not only a religious but a gregarious animal, and the more he nourishes religion in himself, the more he will seek occasion to come into contact with his fellows. That is why churches are indispensable, and why the progress of religion is bound to be reflected there. Apart from the very small fraction of people who are of the cloister and only of the cloister, there are none whose finest feelings cannot be aroused by the exhortation and illumination of the pulpit, served by a gifted, an energetic, and an obviously self-sacrificing ministry. Every indication towards the deepening of spiritual life points therefore to a greater opportunity for the pulpit. Every cause which has for its object the welfare of the people, every appeal which is made for their fuller co-operation, is commended or made with highest effect there, and every worker in that cause and everyone desiring to be made more devoted and to obtain more inspiration should receive a stimulus there.

There cannot, then, be any question of competition between the ministry and any other profession. There cannot be any doubt that if it is sacrificed by any pre-occupation or by an eye being kept on the possible advantages to be obtained in posts of more general ambition, a great disservice is done to religion. In so far as anyone who has given himself to the ministry allows himself to regard it merely as one of the functions of public life, he is declaring himself unfit for it. Great as are the evils arising from the pretensions of a class apart, they are vastly inferior to those which may arise from the actions of any who allow themselves in the course of their ministry

to fall into an easy and comfortable view of their responsibilities or to admit to themselves that they approach ever so near to the goal which they originally set before themselves. The reputation for saintliness and sacrifice may be earned in many ways, not least by rising superior to plausible excuses, easy abandonment, or half-heartedness. How angry large sections of our hard-working and poorly rewarded public are when they read paragraphs about eminent or not very eminent ministers being compelled to abandon work, ordered long periods of rest at health resorts or generally to take care of themselves and husband their resources. These things, necessary as they must be, should not be advertised. Men who have done great things for the world have not so studied their health ; they thought it was better to wear out than to rust out. While ministers are human like other people, in an impoverished age such as we have to live in the example of the walking friars is likely to exert a more potent religious persuasion than the news that a ministers' golf club, unfortunately suspended during the war, is happily now about to be revived.

In the pew, while there is often reluctance to welcome fresh impulses and new movements, there is still plenty of the old zeal for questions which deal with restraints upon public action. The preservation of a restful Sunday deserves a great effort, but surely the playing of games on Sunday afternoons in London parks, and the possible Sunday opening of the British Empire Exhibition, are not supreme issues in a world perplexed and harassed by military and economic problems, and these questions of conscience are complicated by diverse pronouncements of the Church of all ages. Amidst the indifference to all elections when they come, and what happens in Council or in Parliament when they are over, no proposals so readily arouse popular interest and direct intervention as those which seek to regulate the actions of others. Yet convictions which account for these restrictive demands claim respect when so few people seem rooted and grounded in any convictions at all. There is a shallowness in the best of us, and a constant demand for " entertainment." Delegates in conference are often as easily carried off their feet by some political harangue as the merest " groundlings." We must be in the swim ; and perhaps many who recently came back from Brighton so enthusiastic over Mr. Ramsay MacDonald had a few weeks before been amongst those who anxiously shared the doubts and fears so current about a Labour Government and accepted the alarming rumours of a cracking State.

But it must be admitted that the social conscience of the Churches has been aroused. Churches of all denominations are anxious to take their part in social service, and the number of organizations which have shown anxiety to bring religion to bear upon the problems of labour and industry, as well as upon the social and religious needs

f the people, is becoming almost embarrassing. While such effort hould receive the most cordial acknowledgement and welcome, Churches are not always able to exert a very great influence over heir own adherents or to stimulate their thought. Many are probably isposed to say that, while the intention is good, knowledge sufficient eally to understand the problems is wanting, while some may esent the incursion altogether or impute it to inability or unwilling- ess to grapple with subjects more within the Churches' province. Others may protest against those presuming to instruct upon economic nd commercial matters who belong to an organization which is conomically unsound and which continues to maintain gross nequalities of income and of opportunities for merit. For many ears people will hark back to the Churches' action in the war, when var sermons were very much like " war aims " speeches, when there vas very little tolerance, very little thought beyond the day, and ery little attempt to explain and reconcile. But for many reasons ve must agree to forget the war years.

While, then, I do not want politics in the pulpit, while I do not xpect devoted Church people necessarily to be keen politicians, do want both pulpit and pew, out of church, to throw in its lot vith those who in any way are practically working to make the vorld better, and the best of all ways is in the full exercise of our rights f citizenship. Aloofness is futility, to refuse our help and judgment vhen we are compelled to pay our quota is very poor business.

The man or woman who becomes a " prospective candidate " or Parliament in some constituency where thirty or forty per ent. of the electors have never troubled to record their votes may now beforehand something of the trials and difficulties that are ure to be encountered. But he should not be left to feel that the Churches are afraid of him or despise him. Anyone who can make eople think or induce them to act should be received as an ally here, for he is helping in the first stages of that task that all public vorkers have to undertake. A missionary ought never to be met vith indifference. Those who are in the Churches must realize hat anyone who stands out for a cause in a dry, but not necessarily thirsty, land will meet plenty who will treat the adventure with oldness or derision. No one, least of all those who are sincere in heir Church fellowship, can escape responsibility for the discharge f public business and the cultivation of healthy public opinion. And public opinion is not created by postcards to Members of Parlia- ient, sent on some pet subject by those who have ignored primary ppeals. Too often a candidate is regarded as just good enough or a subscription list or to draw attendance to an anniversary eeting or a bazaar.

We should be grateful that the Churches are becoming more ware of their opportunity of service to their age, and for the extent

to which they have always been a rallying-point for all great causes. But still greater courage would give Churches and individuals a more intelligent grasp and a wider helpful influence. The call is too often for " special efforts " and " revivals," which may exhaust or delude ; or they speak down in " popular services " of advertised limited duration. There must be a moral, not an emotional revival. The pulpits are for real messages, the Churches for live organizations, and the money for the religious service of to-day.

" I do not call myself a religious man," said a 'bus conductor to his fares on the day of an air-raid, " but let us die like Britons." Why does a courageous man like that, prepared at any instant to sacrifice himself to duty, *not* call himself a religious man—which he surely is ? What have people to say who do call themselves religious ? Why is it that such a man feels he cannot somehow think of himself as one of them ? In much the same way we hear people saying, " I am not a party man," or " I am not a Liberal," meaning that they are interested in the things that ought to interest those whom they name, but they are not drawn to association with them.

" The age is not what we all wish " ; on that there is, and probably at any time will be, common agreement. " But I am sure," said the great man I quoted at the start, " that the only means of checking its precipitate degeneracy is heartily to concur with whatever is the best in our time." That concurrence would not send all of us into the same Church or party, or lead us to make easy arrangements for bridging over or ignoring our fundamental differences. But it would give us strength and moral purpose; we should think as well as feel, and act as well as think. There would at first be only a small proportion of the possible number taking this active part, for in every good work it is but the few who count. As Mr. Herbert Fisher, in his lectures on *The Common Weal*, asks : " Is it not notorious that the subscription lists to public objects almost always exhibit the fact how very small is the circle of those who give anything to hospitals or universities or public playgrounds, and how comparatively large is the number of well-to-do persons who do not regard it as any part of their duty to make such contributions ? Is it not equally notorious how small a fraction of society takes any interest in the conduct of public affairs ? " Let it be granted that it is so. But if these —only some ten per cent. it has been said—will " heartily concur," not only in checking but in building up, things will become possible ; if pulpit and pew furnish a constant example and encouragement, they will give that impulse they have so often given in the past. Who can then doubt that there will be a rally from all sides to make that contribution to what is most needed for the Church and for the State ?

F. W. Raffety.

GEORGE FOX

EORGE FOX was born at Fenny Drayton in Leicestershire in July 624, the year before Charles I came to the throne. His family is oken of as "reputable and religious"; his father, Christopher ox, a weaver known as "Righteous Christer," was a churchwarden; nd his mother, "of the stock of the martyrs," is described by 'illiam Penn as "accomplished above most of her degree in the lace where she lived." As a boy he served with a shoemaker, ho also traded in wool and cattle, and, says Fox, "a great deal ent through my hands."

At the very beginning of his *Journal*, dictated by him in later ears, we come upon mention of one of the dominating principles his life, the conception of *unity with the creation.*

> When I came to eleven years of age I knew pureness and righteousness. . . . For the Lord showed me . . . that I was to keep to Yea and Nay in all things, and that my words should be few and savoury . . . and that I might not eat and drink to make myself wanton, but for health, using the creatures in their service . . . to the glory of Him that created them, they being in their covenant and I being brought up into the covenant as sanctified by the Word which was in the beginning, by which all things are upheld, wherein is unity with the creation.

This point, so far as I am aware, has received little or no atten- on, and yet a knowledge of it is essential to any true understanding Fox. His strange "psychic" nature seemed to feel hurt, even body, at the sight of anything wasted, or wrongly used, or out of s place in the scheme of God. He had a perception of the eternal armony. He speaks of conduct which "breeds confusion" or hich "brings nature into its course" or "out of its course," as ie case might be. He had a sense of "the hidden unity in the ternal Being"; the sea-coast dwellers who live on the plunder wrecks "are not for preserving the creation but for destroying "; those who indulge in luxury and vanity are "madmen who estroy the creation." Guided by this clue we come to a wonderful mpathy with Fox's thought and conduct.

In particular we understand his attitude towards man's evil, ie matter of supreme moment being *to change the evil mind into the ght mind.* He who sets up this standard of value will not go to ar. It is the way of suffering, but it is the way of the Cross. Per-

haps more than any other single passage does the following show the mind of Fox.

> Friends, go not into the aggravating part to strive with it lest ye do hurt to your souls and run into the same nature for patience must get the victory and [it] answers to that o God in everyone, which will bring everyone from the contrary . . . That which joins to the aggravating part, sets up the aggravating part and breeds confusion, and reaches not to the witness of God in everyone.

Elsewhere he says, " Honouring all men is reaching that of God in every man."

To speak shortly of the outward man Fox, we may note that although abstemious in his eating, he was big and strong, of powerful voice and piercing look, and possessed of amazing courage. Along with this he had a strangely winning personality, attracting the enthusiastic devotion of divers sorts of people. Penington and Ellwood, country gentlemen; Penn and Barclay, learned men and aristocrats; shopkeepers, poor people, men and women, young and old, felt themselves drawn to him. Penn, who moved easily in a king's court, says of him that, though in some ways he might seem uncouth, yet he was " civil beyond all forms of breeding." He had no eloquence as a preacher, " he was more in life and substance than in the wisdom of words or eloquence of speech." Penn records that his words would fall from him " abruptly and brokenly," but he goes on to say, " above all he excelled in prayer. . . . The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld I must say was his in prayer." A certain hardness, not towards his persecutors as such, but toward those who sinned against light and knowledge, and particularly toward false brethren, has drawn attention away from his depth of tenderness for the young, the inexperienced in the Christian life, and particularly for those who had but slipped in their going. Any man, he says,

> . . . if [his] child be fallen down into the dirt, he doth not go and tumble him more into the dirt and into the ditch, and there let him lie in the dirt and ditch, but takes him out and washes him, and so doth the Heavenly Father which leads His children by His hand and dandles them upon His knee. And so all that be called fathers in the truth, or mothers, their tenderness should be the same to all little children in the truth that can hardly go without leading, that sometimes may fall into the dirt and ditch, and slip aside and then be troubled and cry.

And in a time when age tyrannized over youth more than it

allowed to do now, Fox, in pleading for gentle and not harsh judgment of the young Christian life, gives this counsel :

> Friends, be careful how ye set your feet among the tender plants that are springing up out of God's earth, lest ye tread upon them, hurt, bruise or crush them in God's vineyard.

Fox's knowledge of the Bible was so extensive that it was said of him that if all copies of it were destroyed he could restore it from memory. Nevertheless, he was not a man of one book ; he read scores of anti-Quaker publications, he shows some biographical and historical knowledge, he quotes the Apocrypha and the Koran, and he had some knowledge of the writings of Jacob Boehme, the German mystic, drawn to them perhaps as being the work of a shoemaker like himself. He acquired a smattering (if so much as that can be allowed) of a few languages ; there are in the Friends' Reference Library some scraps of his exercises in Hebrew. Nevertheless it is impossible to describe him otherwise than as unlettered (as distinct from illiterate), and with this agrees the " Testimony " given forth after his death by his six surviving step-daughters, the children of his wife, Margaret Fell, and by their husbands, all of whom had for him an extraordinary affection, different as he was from them in education and position of life.

> Though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned as to the outward . . . yet he had the tongue of the learned, and could speak a word in due season to the conditions and capacities of most, especially to them that were weary and wanted soul's rest.

And a complete presentation of Fox demands mention of his humorous side, of which, for want of space, one example must suffice. In replying to those who said that he was allowing women too much place in the organization of his Society, he points out many Biblical examples of their activity in the Church, and in commenting on their service for the tabernacle (Ex. 38^{8}), he says :

> Now Moses and Aaron and the seventy elders did not say to those assemblies of the women, " we can do our work ourselves and you are more fitter to be at home to wash the dishes," or such-like expressions, but they did encourage them in the work and service of God.

Mention has been made of the " psychic " side of Fox's mind, and this showed itself in his uncanny insight concerning persons and circumstances, in his visions and his cures of his mother and of other sick persons, which were counted as miracles. Dearmer, in his book *Body and Soul*, points out that these were the more remarkable in that Fox was not surrounded by followers who were

demanding or even expecting miracles, and, as a matter of fact, Friends never paraded them, since a claim to such marvels would have tended to identify them with the Roman Catholics on the one hand or with certain fanatical sects on the other. It is in view of this "psychic" side of Fox that we easily explain his march through the streets of Lichfield crying "Woe to the bloody city." This was the most conspicuous of the three or four mad or fanatical acts of his life, all performed in early life, and it would not be worth more than bare mention but for the fact of its having given a wrong impression of his whole career. James, in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, asserts that Fox's *Journal* "abounds in entries of this sort," whereas there is no other entry of this sort at all. From a child he must have been told by his mother ("of the stock of the martyrs") of the woman who in Mary's reign had been taken from Mancetter, two miles from their home, to be burned at Lichfield, and of the man who twelve years before Fox's birth had there suffered the same fate under the Anglican Church. Fox, just released from twelve months' imprisonment at Derby, the last six of them in the dungeon among the rogues and felons without a bed to lie on, sees the three spires of Lichfield, "*and they struck at my life*"; his child's horror of the place surges up in him and his act is explicable. It was no part of any orgy of madness; the fire of the Lord was all over him, he says, and he was commanded to leave his shoes with some shepherds, which he did, charging them to let no one have the shoes *unless he paid for them;* he returns to the shepherds, gives them some money, washes his feet, and goes his way, himself wondering at his strange doing.

Nevertheless these deep spiritual and psychic experiences did not withdraw him from the business of this life. Feeling intensely the poverty and other social ills of his day, he tells the "priests and professors" that

> costly apparel with the lace that we formerly had hung upon our backs that kept us not warm, with that we could maintain a company of poor people that had no clothes,

he combats the notion that wasteful spending on the part of the rich does good to the poor, and gives warning against reckless trading that brings loss to others. "It is a bad thing," he says, "to be lifted up and to make a noise and a show for a time with other people's goods." He exhorts masters to pay proper wages and servants to give proper service; he sets up schools for boys and girls of Friends; he arranges for the apprenticing of boys; he gives directions for the care of the poor and those "distempered" in mind; he counsels Friends who go overseas to the colonies to have a market hall built in each of their new settlements and to get

themselves into work as soon as might be. He lived, says Penn, " in a universal spirit."

Unable as he and others of the early Friends were to express themselves clearly, fettered as they were by the spirit of their time, often insisting with unbalanced emphasis on the truth which illuminated their lives, Fox and his friends came to what has been called *a first-hand knowledge of God*, a knowledge that was open to all men, even, albeit in small but yet sufficient measure, to those who had never heard of Christ and the Scriptures. Others had reached this same place—the religion of the Spirit—before them, but, as has been well said, Fox differed from the other religious leaders of his day in that " he was prepared to *trust* the direct and personal experience of the Spirit's presence and guidance to such an extent as to base his whole Church policy upon it." [1]

Those first Friends expressed their doctrine in words with small skill, but they lived their daily lives in the presence of the Eternal.

A. Neave Brayshaw.

[1] Grubb, *Authority and the Light Within*, chap. iv.

SOME MEMORIES OF A QUIET LIFE AMONG YORKSHIRE INDEPENDENTS

Among the high-days of my happy boyhood in North Yorkshire, few were more thrillingly delightful than the days on which, after heavy rainfall in the hills at the dale head, the Swale was " in spate." Then the river—memorable in the ecclesiastical history of this country for the baptism in its clear bright waters, under Paulinus, of 10,000 British converts—came ramping and raging down the Dale, and men equipped with lassoes and boat-hooks and grapples—to whom we eagerly joined ourselves without fee or reward—stood ready at points of vantage on the banks to salvage any objects of value—gates, railings, hen-coops, pigs, uprooted trees, and even haycocks—as they floated down on the swirling waters. Scenes such as these are quite clearly recalled by the request for a reminiscent article from my now very rusty pen. (By the way, it is the Editor's fault, not mine, if this poor screed is cruelly brought into comparison with the articles of this particular sort which hitherto have so much profited as well as entertained the readers of this Review. I comfort myself with the hope that, after listening, with something of awe, to the screaming of eagles in the empyræan, it may not be altogether unpleasing to hear the light-hearted twittering of a swallow in its mud-nest under the eaves.)

To return : the Editor's request has caused a sort of spate in the flow of my recollections. I feel to myself like one of those doughty wielders of the grapnel in my childhood, trying to arrest and bring to bank something that may prove to be worth the saving. At any rate, poor as it may be, no one will dispute my right to what I may land. In this I shall be happier than that *ludibrium fortunæ*, Sebastian Castellio (the pioneer apostle of toleration) whom Calvin and his friends did not shame to charge with thieving because, in his dire poverty, he had helped himself to firewood which he had fished at his own peril from the flooded Rhine.

The first Congregational minister I ever knew is living still—the Rev. Wm. Darwent (father of the Rev. C. E. Darwent, M.A., of Shanghai and Tientsin), now retired at Bognor, then freshly come from Airedale College (1855) to Barnard Castle, in South Durham, where my father at that time, having resigned the mastership of the Wesleyan Day School for conscientious reasons, had a private school, and was honorary pastor of the seventeenth-century Congregational Church at Cotherstone, across the Yorkshire border. The young

men, whose interests were in most things common, became friends, and I remember how my brother and I—a jocund child of five or six—made sundry journeys with a " voider " full of heavy volumes which our father and the young minister were " trading," to their mutual satisfaction and advantage. Among those we brought on our homeward trips there were, I distinctly remember, the six fat volumes of Scott's Bible, the three of Rollin's *Ancient History*, and a specially handsome copy of the works of Flavius Josephus, in which, next to those of Bunyan and Defoe—imagine it, ye happy Congregational youngsters of this fiction-flooded time !—I came a little later to delight. I recall, too, an occasion on which, at the same age, I competed successfully with Mr. Darwent for the attention and interest of his morning congregation by raising in the midst of the " long prayer " the horrified and resounding cry, " Aunt, oh, aunt, I've swallowed a pin ! " From the fact that his last (and quite recent) letter to me opens " My dear Laddie," one might think that I had somehow stereotyped myself on his imagination at about that time, though it was my fortune to live in his house and to know him well some ten years later.

One of Mr. Darwent's deacons and a great friend of my father's was Mr. Fredk. Winpenny (the father-in-law of the late Dr. J. H. Jowett), who sent my father *The British Standard*, as long as it continued to wave. Life in my father's home at peerlessly-beautiful Richmond, where he laboured as a beneficiary minister for thirteen years, brought me acquainted at first hand with the life of the country Congregational manse—its hardships and its heroisms. Added to what I saw of the homes and lives of other " preachers of the verity " in lonely, if lovely, places in the Riding, it made me a lifelong sympathiser with our country pastors and their wives, and, as far as opportunity has offered, their public eulogist and champion. My father at Richmond, with a wife and seven children and £90 a year, was not the poorest, though he was perhaps the worst requited, of our pastors in the rural districts of North Yorkshire. The minister at Reeth, ten miles up the dale, a mighty man and a bachelor, who beguiled the tedium of his life among the fells by playing —I believe, with skill and taste—upon his chamber-organ, had only £60 per annum. His neighbours at Keld and Low Row and over the hills in Wensleydale had little, if any, more. One of these last, who shepherded his little Congregational flock in the shadow of the great grim Castle of the Scropes, was a veritable " tun of man " (Fresh air, they say, is wonderfully feeding ; and these Yorkshire Oberlins got always plenty of that, if little enough of most things else). Like his gigantic neighbour at Reeth, this brother, as Carlyle says of Tennyson, " smoked infinite tobacco." Indeed, I remember an occasion when my father and he were exchanging pulpits, and my mother, in fear lest her children should be burnt in their beds,

sat listening far into the night to the striking of matches for successive pipes of shag or birdseye by her supposedly sleeping guest.

But among the country pastors of the North Riding, from seventy to sixty years ago, there were to be found both scholars and saints, some of whom, like Wilkinson of Keld, were known and, for their works' sake, honoured, throughout the whole shire. They were men of whom Wiclif, I think, would have approved as "trewe prestis and witty of Gods wille," whom Chaucer would have esteemed as "shepherdes and no mercenaries," and Milton himself have honoured and trusted as not to be reckoned among "those drossy spirits that need the lure and whistle of earthly preferment," men actuated plainly, in their humble and patient ministry, not by "the peasantly regard of wages and hire," but by their "love of the souls of men, which is the dearest love."

They were not entertaining preachers, seldom troubling either themselves or their flocks with talk about "the kittle parts of the Old Testament," and ordering their lives and their public demands in strictest conformity with the Puritan tradition (yes, even in their patronage of the nepenthean weed; for did not John Milton habitually end his strenuous day with "a pipe of tobacco and a glass of spring water"?); but of more than one or two of them I can joyfully testify that, dying, they bequeathed to their children the treasure of a name that many had grown to revere and love, and, to their little flocks,

> The memory of a man unspoiled,
> Sweet, generous and humane.

My father, the details of whose pastoral life I vividly remember—for up to my twelfth year I was his pupil, and very often his companion, not only in dark and "dowly" nights on walks to his two out-stations and back, but even, at times, on rounds of sick-visiting—remains for me, after a fairly wide acquaintance with ministers of every grade, my ideal pastor—active-minded and large-hearted, humble, patient, laborious, and almost quixotically dutiful; with a cultured gift of song, a delicate, not to say fastidious, taste in books, and a calligraphy that would have honoured the most famous of abbatial scriptoriums, and strikingly reflected the main features of his character. Unselfish and sympathetic, he was ready always

> to visite
> The ferreste in his parisshe, moche and lyte
> Up-on hys feet, and in his hand a staf.
> This noble ensample to his scheep he yaf,
> That fyrst he wroghte, and aftir that he taughte;
> Out of the Gospel he the wordes caughte;
> And this figure he added eek ther-to
> That yf gold ruste, what shuld yren do?

He would never have called himself a more than ordinary preacher (though an emphatically "painful" one), but it is a fact that on the only two occasions in my life on which I have been on the point of giving involuntary expression to my emotions in the sanctuary, my father was the preacher.

Richmond, in his time, was a station of the Home Missionary Society. Its secretary, Dr. Massey—doubtless in the faithful discharge of his duties—would be found, from time to time, seated without warning in some quiet corner of the chapel at the opening of the morning service. His presence was not calculated to exhilarate the preacher. It was to him that the detested "schedule" had periodically to be sent, in which it was attempted to represent to the world, by a few cold, bloodless figures, the spiritual effect and worth of a true man's faithful and unselfish labours through a course of months, in face of difficulties which, in a little, proud, half-mediæval town like Richmond—sending its two members to Parliament and ringing the curfew night and morning—were a combination of the difficulties of populous centres and of sparsely-peopled countrysides. In common with his brethren in similar situations, my father, as long as he was an "aided" minister, had plentiful experience of the sorrows of smallness—smallness of numbers, of means, of social influence, of efficient help.

Before leaving this stage of my experiences among the people called Independents, I may be permitted to refer again to the *res angustæ domi*, of which almost every country minister in the land knows more than enough (though so little is ever heard of it), and to recall the thrill that went through the household at Richmond, not missing even its youngest members, when, one Christmastide, my father received, by successive posts, the two halves of a £5 note, an absolutely unlooked-for gift from Mr. Frank Crossley of Halifax, afterwards Sir Francis. I have often thought since, that if wealthy and prosperous men had any conception of the amount of gladness that God has put it in their power to create by timely acts of the kind just named, they would do them eagerly, if not from sympathy and admiration, then from selfishness, to multiply the number of their "bounden orators." For I am ready to testify that through all my life the name of Crossley has hardly been to me like other names, and it is the memory of that gracious act—the fruit of understanding and imaginative sympathy—that has given the name its music.

I may say at this point that my sympathy with our brethren working in small and often lonely places was deepened, and my admiration of them heightened, by what I saw of such labourers during my thirty-four years' ministry in South Yorkshire. such as those of Hugh Garside Rhodes at Fulwood, Thomas France at Loxley, Joseph Boyd at West Melton, Henry Robertshaw at Stocksbridge, John Williams at Penistone, and George Hadfield at

Wombwell—men of powerful personality and of true spiritual devotion, and rich in " wisdom which works thro' patience," though not too much given, perhaps, to " trances of thought and mountings of the mind "—these and other such all over the county (each of them living among his people from forty to fifty years, and, in Mr. Robertshaw's case for more) give the lie most emphatically to the suggestion that our country churches are served only by " apocalyptic ignoramuses," or by men who have not parts or character enough to commend them to the favour of urban congregations. It would not be easy to exaggerate the power for good which the true Christian enthusiasts—for enthusiasm is, surely, not a thing which, as a quaint old writer says, " runs upon a line like a firework and ends with a crack," but one which, born of strong and deep conviction, expresses itself by " patient continuance in well-doing "—have exerted upon successive generations of young souls. By many of these, as they have gone forth from the early home to seek their fortunes (as country youths for the most part must), the gracious memory of their pastors has been carried even to the furthest limits of the Empire : a memory so sweet and potent that even after many years it has, as we know, dictated messages fit, in the spirit of them, to be set beside the farewell message of dear John Bradford to his fellow-martyr, Bishop Ridley, " O good brother, blessed be God in thee ; and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee ! "

It was my happiness in my twelfth year to make acquaintance with one of our most valuable denominational institutions—the School for the Sons of Congregational Ministers at Lewisham, now Caterham, to the benefits of which I had been elected after, I believe, a sixth half-yearly application. The School had just celebrated its Jubilee, and was then, as for many years afterwards, under the charge of the Rev. Thos. Rudd, B.A., a Yorkshireman and an *alumnus* of Airedale College, who had the help of a single, but commonly fairly mature, assistant. The number of pupils ranged from fifty to sixty, drawn from all parts of England and Wales. The domestic part of the premises was better than the educational, there being but a single schoolroom and no classrooms. The food, both "esculents and poculents," was plain and good and—although we were always helped to observe the wise Greek's rule of " Nothing too much "—enough for our needs. I recall the deliciousness of the crust of bread and draught of water with which we were regaled on Sunday nights, after walking home from church, and by which the holy day was distinguished from other days, which were supperless. No later experience of Lord Mayors' Banquets and Cutlers' Feasts and other *epulæ conquisitissimæ* has sufficed to rob that little dry dominical chunk of its gustatory pre-eminence in my recollection. The garden, with its noble old cedar in the midst, is delightful in memory as the place in which we were privileged to walk on Sunday

afternoons, cementing our friendships and romancing about our lovely sisters and our giant-like and heroic fathers.

My special friendships at Lewisham were with that prince of *viva voce* story-tellers and most justly lamented of our gifted ministers taken untimely (after our poor reckoning) to their rest—Thomas Rhys Evans, whose first and only pastorate was at Queen's Square, Brighton ; and that distinguished and happily still living ornament of Edinburgh University, Joseph Shield Nicholson, M.A., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A., etc., Professor of Political Economy and Mercantile Law. My first experience of real sorrow in life was connected with the enforced abandonment, shortly after leaving Lewisham, and for lack of the penny of Pases, of my dearly cherished hope to join the latter as a lay-student at New College.

I have heard it said that Mr. Rudd was not a great schoolmaster, that he was a Busby rather than an Arnold or a Thring. That may be so. He certainly was not without his weaknesses, of which a hasty and paroxysmal temper was the one which, to us, appeared least venial. But he was essentially kind and just and manly, and keenly interested in the progress of his pupils. Those of us who, like myself, on account of distance, went home only once a year, saw, during the Christmas vacation, aspects of his character which were somewhat veiled in working-time. During those days—which might have been so dreary—he made himself loved. The ghost that rises before me as I write is Pepper's, the sight of which, as of so many other marvels, at the Polytechnic and elsewhere, we owed to the generous kindness and fatherly interest of the Headmaster.

The annual examination, which was *viva voce*, was conducted in my time by men of standing in the denomination, usually London divines. In this connexion I recall especially the portly, white-haired, leisurely Dr. Halley, and the swarthy, keen-visaged and business-like Dr. Spence. Among the persons who showed special interest in the school was the pioneer medical missionary, Dr. Lockhart, who was living retired at Lewisham, and was, I believe, a deacon of Union Church. The effect of occasional contact with him was to quicken in me a more than merely transient longing to go out as a missionary to China. But foremost among the school's friends was its honorary secretary, the Rev. Josiah Viney. It was in his pretty little park at Highgate, on a day when he was entertaining the whole school, that there fell to me the fearful pleasure of responding, for the school, to addresses delivered (*sub divo*) by two distinguished visitors—Dr. Thos. Binney of the King's Weigh House, and Mr. Fairfax of Sydney, N.S.W. Dr. Binney, like Sir Colgreavance of Gore in the *Morte d'Arthure*, was "a much man and large," and his expression in speaking emphatically leonine, so that it needed a little courage in one who was still on the sunny side of fifteen—the age at which pupils were obliged to leave the school—to take up his parable and reply.

I take leave to question whether Congregationalists have ever adequately realized the boon that Lewisham (now Caterham) has been for more than a hundred years to the poorer and more isolated of our ministers, who, but for it (and Silcoates, to which these remarks quite equally apply), would have had, in many a case, to relinquish one of the dearest desires of their hearts, that, namely, of securing for their boys a thorough, or at any rate an adequate, schooling, as initial equipment for the battle of life. My own feeling of thankfulness for Lewisham, though not, perhaps, of the sort that "makes breath poor and speech unable," has always been both sincere and deep.

My acquaintance with our denominational institutions was further extended when at sixteen years of age I found myself, as Dr. Falding and other good men had done before me, in the position of junior master—the whole staff numbering four—at the Northern Congregational School, Silcoates Hall, Wakefield. The Principal was the Rev. James Bewglass, M.A., LL.D., a portly, golden-hearted Irish gentleman and a notable Orientalist, who early in life had shared the honours and prizes at Queen's College, Belfast, with Mr.—afterwards Lord—Cairns, the Lord High Chancellor of England. His was a noble and impressive personality, and his influence over his pupils was every way good. He was kind and considerate, a somewhat severe disciplinarian, but altogether too guileless to be quite a match for boys, or even for theological students, as I discovered later at Rotherham College, where the Doctor was wont to examine in Hebrew and Chaldee. His kindness to me, after he had conquered his prejudice against me as an *alumnus* of Lewisham, was great, and I shall never part with the *Gesenius* which was among the books he gave me, and in which under his guidance I made my beginning efforts in the tongue of Moses and Isaiah, that language which (according to Thomas Fuller) "glorified saints and angels use in heaven." Educationally the school was not quite up to the level of Lewisham, and the premises, though beautiful for situation, were small and cramped and to a large extent unsuitable. How all these things have been changed under the rule of Mr. Field, Mr. Yonge, and the present Headmaster (Mr. Moore) is it not written in the *First Century of Silcoates*[1]? Some idea of the transformation that has been made may be gathered from the fact that the Greek of the establishment (*Cachinno referens*!) was in my hands during the time that Dr. Bewglass was in the hands of Sir Henry Thompson, suffering from what Montaigne has called (many thanks to him!) "the disease of noble men."

But even in the old days Silcoates was not without its glories. One of its characteristics through many years was the strong literary bent of the pupils, which blossomed out in exquisitely written MS.

[1] Price 3s. 6d. of the Headmaster.

magazines—as many as three at a time. Silcoates has an honourable place of its own in the history of journalism, seeing that it has to its credit, among others, the well-known names of E. L. Godkin (of the New York *Nation*), W. T. Stead, and George Newnes.

Dr. Bewglass was my chief sponsor when (September 1867) I presented myself before the Committee of Rotherham Independent College, of which he was an honoured member; and I remember the Rev. David Loxton of Sheffield innocently (?) asking, during the inquisition, whether I did not speak with something of an Irish accent. In spite of this and of other more flagrant offences and shortcomings, one of which was that in my statement of belief I had inadvertently used the term "infinitude" in place of "infinity" when speaking of the sufferings of the "lost," and so had roused against me the anger of Dr. Falding, who in regard to the whole question of the Hereafter, as I discovered later, clung strongly, though somewhat secretly, to "the larger Hope"—in spite of these defects, and in consideration of a few redeeming qualities, of which youth, I imagine, was the chief, I was admitted, with five others, on probation as a candidate and student for the Christian ministry. I seem somehow to have expected this, for I had taken with me my box and my belongings from my father's manse. Indeed, it never occurred to me that it might not be wanted. Four of the five who shared with me the gladness of the day, and, indeed, all my seniors in the College but two have already made the great transition.

Rotherham College, like its sister institution, Airedale, was much more closely akin in every respect to the old Academies of Attercliffe, Heckmondwike, and Idle than to the more or less imposing, well-appointed, well-staffed colleges in which (as good old Cotton Mather would phrase it) "the angels prepare to sound the trumpets" in this more spacious and exacting time.

The teaching staff consisted of the Principal (resident) and the Classical Tutor, who was pastor of a Church in Sheffield, Doncaster, or Rotherham. The Principal, in my time, was the Rev. Dr. Falding, M.A., the Classical Tutor, the Rev. Cornelius C. Tyte. They were both *alumni* of the College, and had been fellow students. The Doctor was Professor of Hebrew, Patristics, Philosophy, Theology in all its branches, Elocution, and English Literature. Greek and Latin and Mathematics and Natural Philosophy and French, and if there was any other subject required by a candidate for a university degree, the classical tutor took them all.

Resisting the temptation to make reflections on these facts, I hasten on to say that life at Rotherham was happy and, taking everything into account—especially our close and inevitable contact with our fellow students and our opportunities for preaching during *the whole* of our course—was, as preparation for our life-task, well and wisely ordered. It was an easier life by far, I imagine, than the

life of students nowadays. A man who wished to work had the opportunity to do so, and some few helps by the way; but a little ingenuity could easily reduce the "work," if one willed, to very small proportions. Looking back, I perceive that, to me, the chief educational advantage of a five years' residence at Rotherham—next, perhaps, to the influence upon me of two beloved and much-admired seniors among my commensals—was the unchartered run of a not very excellent library.

Dr. Falding, the last Principal of Rotherham College and the first of the United, was for many years a fervent, self-denying advocate of the union of the Yorkshire Colleges; and it was a blow to him when the scheme, to all seeming, was definitively abandoned as impracticable, and each committee proceeded to erect a new and costly set of College premises: only to find, after very few years, that the amalgamation was not only feasible, but everyway desirable and even urgent.[1]

The Doctor's memory is revered by all his students as that of a grave and gracious mentor and a faithful, deeply-interested friend. By no means a ready speaker, he had an excellent pen and a striking felicity in his choice of terms. But the thing in which the Doctor came out strongest—the act in which all his qualities seemed to combine to produce their best effect—was his reading of the Epistles, which was emphatically the finest I have ever heard, and made his conduct of worship in the College hall a thing to look forward to and long to remember. In narrative or dramatic passages his strength was as that of other men.

Professor Tyte, the Doctor's colleague, was a man of wide and various culture and of very fastidious taste. Owing, perhaps, to his possession of a caustic wit, he was not quite so popular with his men as the Principal. But by his uniform kindness to me—he was a childless man and I was very young—he won and held both my esteem and my affection, and it was and is the glory of my life to have followed him in his pulpit and his pastoral charge. Unlike that earlier classical tutor at Rotherham, the Rev. Thos. Smith, of whom it is on record that "he was a very eloquent man when adequately excited," Mr. Tyte was frequently passionate and impressive in his pulpit appeals; yet, owing to an unfortunate mannerism, he never obtained that recognition as a preacher which his gifts and graces deserved. He was Chairman of the Yorkshire Congregational Union in 1878, and his address, at Scarborough, gave proof that he possessed, beyond what many had imagined, *le cœur et l'esprit hospitaliers*. It may be mentioned to the credit of these later days that recreation at Rotherham took the form, almost exclusively, of walking, with, now and then, a canoe excursion up the twisting deep-pooled Rother, which, in spite of blast-furnaces and rolling-mills nor far away, was,

[1] Congregational Colleges, please note.—Ed.

in evenings of the early summer, when the moon rode high and the dew was on the ancient, blossom-laden hawthorns crowding close upon each bank, and the only sound was that of dipping paddles or of startled voles as they took to the water, as satisfying in its delightfulness as a river could be.

I cannot close my reference to the life at Rotherham without a line devoted to the memory of the comely, kindly, white-haired matron, Mrs. Whitehead, to whose heart my admiration of Coleridge, early and accidentally revealed, was an effectual *Open Sesame.* For, in the days of her husband's prosperity, she had had the happiness more than once of entertaining "the rapt one of the god-like forehead" in their sumptuous home in Leeds, and of listening with her other guests to his wonderful monologues, as the "damaged archangel" (as Charles Lamb called him) paced, with shining face, and apparently oblivious of the presence of the rest, from one end of the long drawing-room to the other. In old age and widowhood she had mixed him up inseparably with what was sweetest in her recollection.

And now, having had some little foretaste, through the experiences of home and school and college, of the kind of life for which I was destined, and having in fact been preaching more or less regularly from my sixteenth year, I was ready—though how far from fully fit—to launch out, at what I humbly and joyfully believed to be the Master's call, into the wide and deep and sometimes troubled sea of the Congregational ministry.

A merciful Providence cast my lot in the West Riding. Three stalwart, middle-aged men of business arrived at the College one bright morning in February 1872, charged with the duty of delivering to me the call—exquisitely engrossed on foolscap and bound with blue silk—to the pastorate of George Street Congregational Church at Heckmondwike, a carpet-and-blanket-weaving town in the Spen Valley. As the invitation was unanimous and enthusiastic, I accepted it, though I had still six months of my College course to fulfil. On that, to me, most memorable day—

> To the sentinel
> The hour is regal when he mounts on guard—

when the hands of my father and of other honoured Presbyters were placed on my head, and, trembling with joy, I was solemnly set apart as a shepherd of Christ's flock, the spacious chapel was crowded to excess, the congregations flowing in a double stream along the aisles and even surging up into the pulpit. In pure self-defence the tickets for the tea between the afternoon and evening services were priced half a crown, the ample proceeds finding their way—(nothing there more natural!)—into the slender purse of the young pastor, as a sign of love.

So began for me a time, which lengthened out to close upon sixteen years, of unvarying and unalloyed ministerial happiness as the servant, for Christ's sake, of a living, generous, affectionate, active-minded and most teachable folk. And this in a time which must, one thinks, have been as difficult and anxious for any young man who would be true to the Truth and to himself as any time which the Church has known since the days of the Renaissance. It is almost impossible for anyone who is still young to realize how different is the atmosphere in which a young minister enters on his task to-day from that of the early seventies, and how completely, and for the most part how happily, the general attitude in regard to some great questions, affecting his work as an interpreter of the mind of his Lord, has changed.

In my student-days every whipper-snapper in a pulpit—myself, of course, included—felt himself not only entitled but even called upon to be eschatologically lurid and fuliginous, after the manner of St. Jude; to "bait his homilies with his brother worms," not always handling the worms as if he loved them; to be positive and dogmatic about the hopelessness of the condition and prospects of the Moslems and the heathen, and dubious as to that of the Roman Catholics; to be sarcastic in speaking of the sacred books of any but Jews and Christians; to speak mockingly of Mr. Matthew Arnold, with his "sweetness and light" and his ridiculous "Eternal, not ourselves that makes for righteousness"; to be very chary of suggesting that there could ever have been more Isaiahs than one, or that all that goes under the name of John the beloved apostle may not have come from his pen; and to refer to men of science, such as Tyndall, Huxley and Clifford, and, above all, Darwin, as men whose aim it was to remove the very "foundations" and leave the righteous buried among the ruins of the Faith. For in those days, which already seem so far away, it was by no means everyone who could appreciate, as it is appreciated now, the common sense of Richard Hooker's dictum, "No truth can contradict any truth," and give God condign thanks that so it is, and that "whatever either man on earth or the angels of heaven do know it is as a drop of that unemptiable fountain of wisdom; which wisdom hath diversely imparted her treasures unto the world. As her ways are of sundry kinds, so her manner of teaching is not merely one and the same. Some things she openeth by the sacred book of Scripture, some things by the glorious work of Nature." Suspicion and misrepresentation—carried at times to cruel lengths—were the almost inevitable guerdon of any man, especially any young man, who recognized that the time had come for taking up into the Church's use a growing mass of precious knowledge which had hitherto lain, so to speak, neglected or even tabooed, and, in Francis Bacon's phrase, for "reducing things" relating to the Bible and religion "from popularity of opinion to measure of

reason." That being so, I am filled with wonder and gratitude as I recall the absolute loyalty and unvarying affection of my George Street flock—affection and loyalty which were not lessened but only metamorphosed for the moment into indignation when, e.g., a good Doctor of Divinity, occupying my pulpit, appealed to my people not to let their love for an individual beguile them into trifling with the Truth.

Though Heckmondwike was a comparatively go-ahead place, there were still some few links to be found with a rapidly vanishing state of things. Here and there in the neighbourhood there were little knots of hyper-Calvinists. The only one in my own Church was my senior deacon, a man whose face was grave almost to melancholy, but whose smiles—so rare—were among the sweetest things it has yet been given me to see. I remember still the pain it was to me to trouble and grieve—as, if I would be true, I occasionally must—this dear old champion of a now intolerable creed. Another of my deacons—a cheery, apple-cheeked octogenarian, whose face, when he was in the spirit, did unquestionably shine—had in his ladhood been in the employ of the Rev. Mr. Robberson, Vicar of Liversedge, at Heald Hall. This militant Christian, who conducted the successful defence of the Rawfolds Mill against the attack of the Luddites, figures in Charlotte Brontë's *Shirley* under the name of Mr. Helstone, and the tales my good friend had to tell of the saturnine disposition of his quondam master accorded completely with the representation of him given by the novelist. Tea in my time was universally the beverage in use at Sunday School treats ; but the good women were still living who were accustomed in earlier days to brew the beer for such occasions. One other custom—which I had never the heart to break—was that of religiously providing at deacons' meetings a Broseley " churchwarden " and tobacco for the exclusive use of the minister.

At the time of my entrance into the ministry, Yorkshire Independency was worthily represented. Scattered over the county there were elder brethren of commanding figure and deserved reputation,

> Worthie on Fame's eternal bead-roll to be fyled ;

such men, for example, as James Parsons, the man of the wonderful grey eye and miraculous memory, fifty years minister of Salem Chapel, York, a preacher whose power was augmented rather than lessened by the fact that he had no voice ; the handsome, militant, bell-voiced Dr. Mellor of Square Chapel, Halifax ; Dr. Eustace Conder and Wm. Thomas of Leeds ; Dr. J. R. Campbell and Wm. Kingsland of Bradford ; Dr. Robt. Bruce of Huddersfield ; James Sibree of Hull ; David Loxton of Sheffield. But if the old order of ministers, with its outward insignia of black broadcloth frock coats and broad-brimmed hats and ample white neckcloths, was still well represented,

the new order, with its daring adoption of tweeds and cut-away coats and black and even coloured ties—the now almost universal dog-collar being at that date largely confined to the Episcopalian clergy—had its notable representatives too, the causes of much head-shaking to good Christian Yorkshire-folk of over forty years old. There were those dear sons of memory, J. T. Stannard and John Hunter, J. R. Bailey and Eric Lawrence, P. T. Forsyth and W. M. Hennessy, all of whom rejoiced when Dr. Fairbairn came to preside over the destinies of Airedale College, and many of whom gladly availed themselves of his willingness (I have the correspondence on the subject still) so to arrange his Tuesday lectures that they could share them with the students without leaving their flocks too long.

Behind, or rather alongside, these ministerial princes and leaders, whether younger or elder, ready in any good cause to help with voice or purse or pen, stood representative laymen like the Baineses, the Crossleys, the Briggses, the Andertons, the Shaws, the Firths, the Dodgsuns, the Whitleys, the Huttons, the Strattens, the Woodheads, the Oldroyds, the Byleses, the Leaders, the Pye-Smiths, the Wilsons, the Willanses, the Stubleys, and the Taylors, and other such, whose names were household words among the Independents of the Ridings. Most of these families are honoured among us still in the persons of their present representatives. Some few have become, to the general regret, denominationally extinct. Whether the county is as rich in outstanding personalities among the Congregational laity as it was fifty years ago, and if not, why not, are questions easy to ask but hard to answer.

Before ending my references to Heckmondwike, it may be worth while to give a brief account of that very interesting survival known as the Heckmondwike Lecture, about which many are more or less mistaken.

Heckmondwike as a town had its origin in Nonconformity under the operation of the Penal Acts in the reign of Charles II. Its situation—almost equidistant from the corporate towns of Wakefield, Huddersfield, Leeds and Bradford, and surrounded by moors—marked it out as a convenient spot for those opposed to " the English regiment ecclesiastical " to foregather. Many settled there, and being godly and industrious, throve. The first Independent meeting-house was in Swashland, and the first Church was formed there on July 29th, 1674. There, tradition says, they were accustomed to worship with a man on the chimney to scan the hills around and give warning, down the chimney, of the approach of the King's officers. There, too—truly, as that great poet but indifferent verser, John Bunyan, says,

> Some things are of that nature as to make
> One's fancy chuckle whilst his heart doth ache—

there, too, they sang their hymns "in a lowe vois." At a later date (1701) they built a roomy chapel at the top of the town (Upper Chapel), in which Oliver Heywood preached from time to time, and where in his boyhood Dr. Joseph Priestley attended with his aunt, who lived at the Old Hall. One of the ministers was the Rev. James Scott, who was also the head of the Heckmondwike Academy, from which the Yorkshire United College is lineally descended. This good divine, in 1761, begrudging the time taken up during the year by chance visits from students' kinsfolk and friends, appointed a day—"the first Wednesday after the second Sunday in June," as the natives will tell you—on which they might all come, and welcome; and by way of improving the occasion he was wont to invite some brother of light and leading in the Riding to preach. This was the origin of the Lecture. But our Nonconformist fathers had a hunger for the Word, and the Lecture was soon doubled. So it continued until, as the result of schism, the Rev. Mr. Booker and his adherents built the Lower (now Westgate) Chapel at the other extremity of the town, where they also had a double lecture on the Tuesday night. On the erection of George Street Chapel in the centre of the town—again, alas! as the result of disagreement about a minister—the worshippers put in their claim to share in the joy and profit of the now historic festival, and a single lecture on the Wednesday evening was established there. So that, since that time, the Lecture has consisted of three distinct diets of worship, at which five discourses are preached, within twenty-four hours, by five of the most eminent ministers available. The chapels are packed on each occasion by an intent congregation of adults. There is no endowment in connexion with the Lecture, and the preaching, it should be known, is honorary, the institution being thus a monument to the large-heartedness and generosity of the popular divines both of our own and of other Churches. The good people of Heckmondwike do not, of course, allow the preachers to be out of pocket.

From a humble gingerbread stall at the Upper Chapel gates, a fair on a considerable scale was gradually evolved, and the town at Lecture time may be said to be *en fête*, and generous hospitality is the order of the day. As in the house of Chaucer's Frankelyn, so in many a home in Heckmondwike "at t'Lecter" it really

> "snows" of mete and drynke,
> Of alle deyntees that men coude thynke.

I remember, indeed, that in 1872 or 1873 the ministers and deacons met to discuss a resolution brought up by an honoured deacon of the Upper Chapel, to the effect that owing to the amount of "wickedness" that had come to be associated with the institution, and the decline of public interest, it was desirable that the Lecture should be discontinued. I am glad to remember that I had some little part in defeating

that proposal. To have carried it would have been to have flung out the baby with the bath-water, or rather the baby and not the water, which would certainly have stayed behind. From that time we began to go further afield for our lecturers, and there are few distinguished living preachers who have not taken part in this great function. Many persons religiously attend the whole five services, and some have not missed a service for a score or two of years. Nor is the interest confined to the congregations. I have known a preacher's text to have become common property all through the fair before the preacher was half through his discourse, as when, for instance, that gifted young preacher, Bray of Cavendish, spoke in his highly dramatic way on "A living dog is better than a dead lion." The people of these parts retain not a little of the power to listen which characterized their fathers in the days when Oliver Heywood could write in his diary "Was engaged six hours. Not weary, blessed be God!" The greater marvel surely is that the people were not weary either. What is it we have lost?

My recollections so far have brought me to November 1887, when, in response to a call from the Church at Broompark, Sheffield, I bade farewell, with many mutual tears, to my beloved folk at George Street, to enter on my second and final pastorate among a people for whom, on every remembrance of them, my wife and I give thanks. My old people at Heckmondwike honoured themselves and me by calling, though vainly, to the oversight of them in the Lord, Mr. J. H. Jowett, M.A., who was just then leaving Airedale College and entering upon his strenuous and beautiful, but all too brief, career as a servant of the Churches and a preacher of the verity.

On reading over again what I have written, I realize (not without a twinge) that I might fittingly have prefaced it with the warning words of the Lord of Montaigne to the reader of his *Essays*: "Gentle reader, myself am the groundwork of my (book); it is then no reason thou shouldest employ thy time about so frivolous and vain a subject. Therefore farewell!" But as it is quite too late to give that caveat now, I must content myself with the hope that if any one has taken the trouble to peruse these pages, in which, "after the simple conning that God hath sent to me," I have sketched the story of my early life—the life of one whose glory and joy it has been, as one of the rank and file of the Congregational ministry, to trail his pike after noble and valiant leaders in the war with the ignorance and evil of the time—such reader has found his task not altogether void of pleasure and so not altogether profitless. For I remember and endorse Montaigne's own dictum that "Pleasure is one of the chiefest kinds of profit."

H. H. Oakley.

DEVELOPMENTS AND EXPERIMENTS

This section of our Journal aims at chronicling not only developments in theological thought and in ecclesiastical organization, but also practical experiments in all branches of religious life and service.

Often when successful attempts have been made to solve some problem in one part of the country, the rest of the Churches remain ignorant, and we trust that these pages will not only serve as a clearing-house of ideas and a record of changing emphasis, but also broadcast valuable information of progress in Church and denominational life.

Our representatives in the Colonies and the United States will from time to time contribute accounts of similar movements. The Editor will be glad to consider brief articles serving this purpose.

HALF A CENTURY OF THEOLOGICAL CHANGE

Dr. Clifford's article[1] alluded to impending changes in the Churches, the signs of which, though not arresting, were manifest, and which were bringing in a new day for Free Church ministers. He said these changes were disturbing some minds with apprehension for the future, but were gladdening with hope those courageous souls who knew that the Lord of the Ages was leading the generations on towards His own chosen goal.

It did not lie within the scope of Dr. Clifford's article to specify any of these changes; he was dealing with the ministers of a past generation who were faithful to the circumstances of their own time. It may therefore be worth while carrying the subject a step further and trying to point out some of the changes he evidently had in his mind, and which he regarded as not without hope for the Church.

The last fifty or sixty years have been a period of tremendous upheaval in every department of human life and activity. While change has been so busy in the scientific, the political and the social world, it is not to be supposed that the theological world could remain unaffected. The human mind is not made up of closed compartments, and the tides of thought overleap all barriers. Material conditions affect the spiritual world, and there is continual interplay between the moral and intellectual life of man.

Amid the many changes that have occurred, however, the essential facts of the Gospel remain stable. We are still in the true sense of the word "Evangelicals." The gospel is still to us a gospel, not of culture or education, but of redemption. We still believe that "Faithful is the saying, and worthy of all acceptation that

[1] Congregational Quarterly, Vol. II, p. 6.

Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." Christ is still to us the Son of God and the Saviour of the world. The Cross is still the centre of our thought, the one expression of God, and of the true life of man. It is through the Cross that Christ is the "power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." All through the ages this gospel has been the soul of every movement for revival in the Church, and has embodied the converting power of the truth.

Not the least important of the changes is that which has given us an altered Bible. We still believe that it contains God's revelation of Himself to men, but historical criticism has removed many misconceptions. It is wonderful what confused notions some good people have held. I remember a good many years ago a leading man in the commercial life of Cardiff—a man who would have regarded himself as a leader in the Christian life of the place—describing Jacob as sitting under a palm-tree reading his Bible; and when I objected tentatively and with diffidence that the Bible was not written then, he replied after a moment's reflection that there seemed to be something in the objection and he would think over it! Now, there are assured results of Biblical criticism on which practically all scholars are at one. We have learned that the Bible is a great literature subject to the laws that govern the growth of all literatures. It consists of a great variety of writings—history, biography, proverb, poetry, prophecy, letters, gospels—and it contains, as all ancient literatures do, legend, myth, allegory and fable. While our Lord taught by parable, must we regard it as impossible that God should do the same in Old Testament times? Might He not reveal Himself through allegory as well as through historical narrative? The principle that solves much of the difficulty is that of a gradual and progressive revelation. This accounts for—what puzzles many—the imperfect morality found in the Old Testament, and those acts attributed to God which are inconsistent with His character as revealed by Christ. The evolution of the revelation must keep pace with the evolution of the human mind. But none of these questions affect the imperishable value of the Bible in its spiritual content and as a revelation of God's character and will and of the divine scheme of redemption.

Among the results that have come from a changed Bible are both a softening of social life and manners and an altered view of God. There is in the Scriptures an evolution of the idea of God from the tribal deity of the Hebrews, one among many, to the God revealed by Jesus Christ as the Supreme Father of all men. Of late years the magisterial attributes have given place to the fatherly, the stern have been replaced by the gentle and winning. In my boyhood the picture that rose to the mind from the preaching we heard was that of a detective watching with eager eye for the slips and errors

of men that he might visit them with punishment, not of a patient, merciful Father, ready to lift up the fallen and set them on their feet for another chance. At best, God was a far-off regal being, whose chief interest was in maintaining the integrity of His law, and needing the death of His Son to pacify Him. Now He is presented as a God, nigh at hand, afflicted in His people's afflictions, what is best in men being found in perfection in Him. If at present the divine sovereignty is somewhat minimized, it is surely a gain that men are won to God rather than repelled from Him, and that we have at least partially plumbed the depths of love and tenderness that were so long hidden from us.

In my youth very crude notions about hell were entertained. Such statements, for example, as our Lord's about the worm dying not, and the fire not being quenched were understood in the awful realism of literal worm and fire, and constantly in preaching and Sunday-school teaching a hell of eternal burning was pictured as a warning to the sinner. But for long there has been a shrinking from such an open declaration of the pains of the lost, though about thirty years ago when preaching in Oxford I stayed with a good man who was quite unhappy because ministers had ceased to use the motive of hell-fire as they had done in his youth. Protestants have long abandoned this mode of appeal. It has been quietly dropped in our milder world, and a more spiritual view has taken its place. The wrongdoer kindles the fires of hell in his own bosom, and from these there is no escape save by the mercy of God and the healing power of the Cross.

Expressions with regard to heaven are now interpreted in the same way. I remember in my first pastorate I gave great offence to a good man by saying that the white robes of the redeemed were not to be taken literally, and that we must not picture heaven as a vast drawing room in which people flitted about in evening dress. This was to upset all the old well-tried theories held by the Church. But surely within the wide field of the evangelical faith there is room for a spiritual interpretation of all such figures.

The Church now is more tolerant of the variety of ways in which the Kingdom is entered than used to be the case. All had to pass through the gate of conviction of sin and the sense of divine forgiveness; whereas now men may enter by any one of the twelve gates that lead into the city. We have also a much larger and more ethical view of what is meant by salvation. It is not a mere deliverance from danger, but a character brought into harmony with the will of God. The fully saved man is not the man saved from hell, but the man endowed by the Spirit with all the attributes of a Christian manhood.

Another idea has been imported. I cannot be saved alone, while my neighbour is unsaved. The solidarity of mankind has

become one of the master thoughts of the present day. We all rise and fall together. Salvation not only brings us into fellowship with God but into fellowship with man. And so my salvation does not terminate in myself, but goes beyond me to others. Salvation is a thing which always pushes itself out and out, and includes more and more till it has cleansed the whole of Society. So, compared with the old view, which was personal, limited and final, it is unlimited and social, and will never be complete till all are included within its circle.

We now acknowledge more fully the social implications of the gospel. The gospel always has carried these implications in social and political life. We do not forget the vast reforms in our Factory Acts and the improvement in the lives of the workers, young and old, inaugurated by Lord Shaftesbury—a typical Evangelical of the old school. But in the present day social regeneration has become more inevitable as a fruit of the gospel. It is felt that the gospel has to do with such things as housing, wages, hours of labour, education, and such like. Righteousness is a social as well as a personal interest, and the Church is of value only as it helps to bring in the Kingdom.

All this follows from the fact that we have a new view of life in the world, both of its worth and beauty. It is not only a preparation for a future life, but is an end in itself. The old view produced rather a sickly attitude towards amusements. In the early days of the Y.M.C.A. *Punch* was excluded from its reading rooms. Dr. Dale and Archbishop Trench received a rebuke from the official organ of the Society because they had taken part in a Shakespeare celebration. "They had been offering homage at the shrine of a dead playwright." My own minister, an ardent Evangelical, once at a public meeting accused Dr. Legge, the famous Chinese missionary, of recreancy to his profession because he had quoted some lines from Shakespeare, and at the same time he spoke of himself, being an old man, as "the last rose of summer." When Dr. Legge rose to speak it was easy for him to turn the tables on his brother by pointing out that while he, Dr. Legge, had quoted Shakespeare, the other had gone one better by quoting Tom Moore.

Now we have come to a larger, truer view of life in the world. There is no part of human thinking or doing which is outside the domain of Christ. The home, the school, the factory, the market, the polling booth, all are His. The worlds of art and music, science, painting, sculpture—He claims them all. Even the life of amusement has to be made wholesome and free from all that corrupts by being put under the law of God. In fact, the whole of human existence is to be regarded as under the control of the Divine Spirit in whose dispensation we are.

What is the practical effect of these changes on the life of the individual and the Church? It is not denied that at the present time there are some disconcerting signs. There is a falling off in Church attendance, in Bible reading, in prayer, and there is a too easy submission to the spirit of the world. But beneath all superficial appearances there is a movement towards a higher life. Man's nature may be ignored for a time, but cannot be permanently suppressed. Deep down in his spirit man craves for God, and everywhere to-day there is an awakening of the human soul, with a more spiritual outlook on life. Science which thirty years ago was materialistic is now becoming spiritual. In fiction and newspaper articles there is a more frequent allusion to religion. Statesmen are looking forward with longing hearts to a period of goodwill among the nations. Edith Cavell's conviction that patriotism is not enough is finding a deep response in the hearts of multitudes. And the Church is awaking to the need of the hour. God is with us and still has His hand on the helm. Somehow there is a soul of good in things evil, and "through the ages one increasing purpose runs," and that purpose is good.

JOHN WILLIAMSON.

A CONGREGATIONAL PARK

Great Harwood is a Lancashire cotton town with about fourteen thousand people, situated between Blackburn and Burnley, too small to have a public park with facilities for bowls and tennis, but large enough to have a Congregational Church and School filled with young people desirous of living a full life. The size of the town and its compact nature gave the Church a great opportunity to provide recreation for its young people, and readers of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY might like to know how well that opportunity has been seized. The Great Harwood Church was fortunate in possessing those who, recognizing that the only bowling greens in the town were attached to public-houses or clubs, were determined to provide amusement, outdoor as well as indoor, for those whose working life was spent in the factory and the office. An earnest and scholarly ministry of thirty-five years had built up a generation that recognized its responsibilities, and in the years preceding the war much thought had been given to possible developments in work of this kind.

It was a great advantage that a site could be secured which, while on the outskirts of the town, was yet within fifteen minutes walk for all connected with the Church. A year's work altogether transformed a large part of a piece of waste land covering about seven acres. A bowling-green for men was laid out, and a ladies'

green that could be used for bowls or croquet as desired. Two shale courts for tennis were provided, and the whole grounds were tastefully laid out, the rose garden being a special feature. The land is in five different elevations, and this affords opportunity for the effective display of flowers—some of the banks are a very fine sight when covered with spring flowers. The choice of a name was not easy, but no visitor to-day will think the title "Park" too ambitious.

In the midst of the grounds a pavilion[1] was erected which contained on one floor: (1) a large billiard-room for men with two tables; (2) a reading-room; (3) a ladies' recreation-room; (4) a small committee-room; (5) a kitchen in which refreshments could be prepared. The first three of these can, by sliding back the partitions, be made into one large room for concerts, general meetings, etc. Underneath this floor are the caretaker's store-rooms and forcing-room, heating apparatus, and lockers for the use of members. This part of the Park was opened on June 27, 1914, the first game on the bowling-green being played by the Secretary and Treasurer of the Lancashire Congregational Union (the Rev. A. J. Viner and Mr. E. Hindle, J.P.) on the one side, and two of the senior members of the Park on the other.

The institution gave immediate signs of success. The young people, who had up to that time been inclined to despise tennis, were soon seized with the fever, and ere long could meet and vanquish persons with long experience of the game. It was even reported that some of them were to be seen on the tennis courts on Church-meeting night, but that, of course, was a fabrication of malicious persons.

How was it done? Largely through the interest and generosity of three individuals, who became known as the patrons, who met the capital expenditure involved, amounting to £1,600. It was agreed that the members could take over the Park at any time they desired, but meanwhile they should pay interest to the patrons at the rate of 4 per cent. on the outlay. It was pointed out that many social gatherings usually held in the Sunday School would henceforth be held in the Park pavilion, and so the school would be losing income, and the patrons therefore generously suggested that, while the institution should pay 4 per cent. on the original outlay, 1½ per cent. should go to the Sunday School funds, and they themselves would only take 2½ per cent.

It was the intention that the institution should pay, by means of a Sinking Fund, not only this 4 per cent., but a little more each year, and so gradually wipe out the capital. In the first six months £20 was paid off the capital, but the war speedily took away almost all the playing male members, and it was impossible to carry out

[1] For a photograph of the pavilion, see advt. section, p. xviii.

the plan ; the patrons returned all interest due to them while the war lasted.

The Park is controlled by its members, who consist of members of the Church and congregation, and teachers and scholars of the Sunday School over sixteen. Honorary members pay one guinea a year ; ordinary members 12s. men, 7s. women ; and country members (Congregationalists living out of the immediate neighbourhood) 5s. Payment is made for all games, a ticket being received from the caretaker before the game starts. This discourages and, it is hoped, prevents the dangerous practice of "loser pays," so common in clubs. The minister of the Church is President, and the three patrons and the general superintendent of the Sunday School are *ex officio* members of the Committee, which consists also of twenty-four elected members. Visitors can be introduced according to rule, and parties are invited from other Churches. Every Saturday afternoon in the summer a visiting party, generally from another Congregational Church, is welcomed, while other Churches in the town are invited on summer evenings.

Various games are played during the winter months, during which courses of lectures, debates, etc., are also arranged ; but cards and dancing are not allowed. Recently, however, an occasional whist drive has been arranged by the Entertainment Committee, for members only and with nominal prizes.

The Park managed to pull through the difficult years of the war, during which time the Committee was gaining experience, in an astonishing variety of ways.[1] Sundry additions were made, including a high flagstaff set in a large bed of flowers in front of the pavilion ; but especially was it realized that something had to be done for the children and for the young people from thirteen to sixteen.

One of the patrons again came to the rescue and a further part of the seven acres (that on the lowest level) was laid out for the use of the children. Left largely in natural undulating fashion, the banks were covered with shrubs ; four sand-pits were made for the youngest children ; see-saws and swings were erected, and provision made for out-door gymnastics. This work was done when labour was very expensive, and the cost was about £3,000. The management of this children's playground is in the hands of a Committee elected by the Sunday School teachers. Scholars desiring to be members pay 1s. a year, while the School devotes the 1½ per cent. interest mentioned above to the maintenance of the work.

[1] For example. Care had to be taken to avoid the charge of "poaching" from other Churches in the town. But what if a young Congregationalist who spent most of his leisure at the Park happened to be engaged to a member of some other Church ? Was she eligible for membership or not ? The solution of this knotty problem was found in a bye-law which allowed the Committee to admit such members on special resolution.

Meanwhile, the demand for tennis was so great that three grass courts had been laid on a higher level. This still leaves a considerable amount of ground available, and this is being levelled and will be used by the girls for hockey and by the younger lads for cricket and football.

A work of this kind necessarily demands the services of a whole-time caretaker—who is responsible not only for the care of the gardens and grounds, and the cleaning of the pavilion, but also for the receipt of money for games. Assistance is provided for him for the greens during the busy summer months. Much depends on the caretaker in a work of this kind, and Great Harwood has been fortunate in having discovered one who is not only conscientious and trustworthy, but is also an enthusiastic nature lover, desirous of making the Park always look its best.

The years have brought various problems to the management of the institution, but by collective wisdom and tact these have been solved. The Park has done a great deal to improve the health and outlook of its members. A notable feature has been the way in which it has been used by women members who are no longer young. They have been able to go and sit quietly in ideal surroundings with their needlework or book, and have without doubt considerably benefited thereby. The teas provided on Tuesdays and Saturdays during the summer months add to the amenities of the place.

The supreme value of the Park, however, has been the increased fellowship resulting between young and old, rich and poor. Employers and employed have met together on the bowling-green and realized their common humanity. Those who had attended the same church for many years and had never said more than "Good-morning" to each other have talked over all problems, from the abolition of war and strikes to the reason for Yorkshire's constant supremacy over Lancashire at cricket[1]! When the minister was a Yorkshireman the latter was a frequent topic of conversation!

If the Great Harwood Church is a particularly happy fellowship, much of the credit must be given to the Congregational Park. It would be a good thing if many of our Churches could go and do likewise.

EDITOR.

A VILLAGE CHOIR

A FEW words in Mr. Mawson's article,[2] in which he speaks of the village Church choir, have suggested to me that I might usefully, for the benefit of others, put on record my experience with such a choir.

[1] This may stand in spite of the Whit-week match!

[2] CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY, Vol. II, p. 211.

Some nine years ago, when the war was raging and men were scarce, I was asked to stop a gap in our village chapel and play their harmonium till other arrangements could be made. At first I had nothing to do with the choir, and though I soon found that I was in for a permanent thing, I was a stranger to the Church, and more than a little diffident about interfering with the order of worship, so I waited to see what would happen. The choir numbered about a dozen—a few trebles, one with a good voice, on whom the rest leaned heavily, no altos, two tenors, and several basses, of whom one was good, one tolerable, and the rest useless. When the Harvest Festival was approaching, to my surprise some members of the choir waited on me and asked me to teach them an anthem. I knew that they could not sing a hymn tune decently, to say nothing of an anthem, but their request showed a keenness for which I had not given them credit, so to foster this I chose a simple anthem and set to work. We imported a couple of altos *ad hoc* from the Wesleyans and gave some kind of a rendering of it. It was nothing to boast of, but I did not tell them that. Rather I gave them to understand that they had, under the conditions, done quite well, but that they must not be self-satisfied. Taking advantage of their awakening interest, I suggested that we should do some carols for Christmas, and found them eager. I carefully pointed out that if they were ever to make any real progress, constant and regular practice would be essential, and there and then we set up a weekly practice. We did our carols—an unheard of thing in that Church, and then the idea took them that they would like to give an entertainment. I shall never forget that entertainment or the horror they expressed when they found that they had to sing without accompaniment the two simple little part songs which were all I let them tackle. However, we got through without any bad mishap, and I could see that there was a growing feeling of solidarity, which I did my best to develop.

It was obvious that I was now, whether officially appointed or not, the *de facto* choirmaster, and I made up my mind that if something could be made of that choir it should not be my fault if it was not. I insisted on weekly practices, summer and winter; I gave them to understand that loyalty to me required regular attendance, and that the one condition of membership was that they should realize and live up to their responsibility for the orderly and decorous worship of God in the Sunday services—and I did not appeal to them in vain.

I was constantly on the look-out for fresh voices as youngsters in the congregation grew up or new people came, and I was able thus to fill up the gaps that the usual stream of removals from a village causes. I deposed from their position as trebles several notoriously alto voices, and so in time got a decent alto part, and gradually, but very gradually, a fairly balanced choir.

Our practices were always held on the same night in the week and at the same hour, for I attached great importance to getting a certain night and a certain time looked upon as sacred to the choir practice. We practised secular as well as sacred music, for I strongly held that each kind helped the singing of the other, and experience has borne this out. Moreover, it added to the interest of the practices and taught the members to "call nothing common or unclean," provided only it was good.

This is all a long time ago, and I have only set it out in detail because it was the humble beginning of an experience which I should say is very unusual, if not unique. For that choir, simple and incompetent as it was at first, has now grown into a choir that can sing really difficult part songs, not only creditably but well, can sing an anthem like Myles Foster's "O for a closer walk" in such a way that a first-class musician could say after hearing them that he never wished to hear it better sung, and can lead the service of a little village Church with an intelligence, reverence, and competence that few town choirs can surpass and many come woefully short of. The weekly practices have continued, summer and winter, for nine years, and while the attendance has always been good, the average has steadily improved. During the past winter I should say it has been twenty-two out of twenty-five, and on the night before I write these words every member was present. When I say that some have over a mile to come, and that many have home ties that cannot be lightly laid aside, I think my readers will realize that not a little self-sacrifice is represented by such attendance. But the beauty of it all is that the members do not think of it as self-sacrifice; they are so keen on their work that it seems quite natural to them. And the devil, in the shape of non-musical discord, has never shown his face among us—we have all been too busy about the Master's work for him to find any opening.

For the benefit of choirmasters who lament a very different state of things, may I indicate one or two of the things which have made for our success?

1. I have, of course, been fortunate in my personnel. But this refers only to their character. The voices have been ordinary enough. I have never made a favourite and never made a fuss of anyone. Once or twice it has happened that a member has got tired and stayed away, but a little judicious ignoring of the situation has soon shown the erring one that that game was no good, and his or her place has soon been occupied again.

2. I have been at pains to show them that the choir mattered to me more than anything that could be put in competition with it. I have never gone to a practice without having the programme of that practice all arranged in my mind beforehand; I have never missed a practice, and I have never been late except twice, when I

was actually prevented by *force majeure*. I have come from the ends of England for the weekly practice, and my friends all know that it is useless to offer me any bait to draw me away on practice night. The choir know this. Is it any wonder that they play up? Egotistical as it may seem, I commend my ways to many choirmasters to whom regularity and punctuality are not as sacred as they might be.

3. I have indicated in the course of the article a good many things which have made for success, but just in closing I would say that I attach the greatest importance to keeping the work of the sanctuary as the first and foremost end in view. The choir must never be allowed to think that there they can sing for show. Let them be worked hard and given plenty of variety and the opportunity of giving good secular entertainments. They should never be asked to sing rubbish, either sacred or secular. Till we began serious work "comic" items were considered indispensable in entertainments given in our village. We have given at least twenty entertainments; we have had heaps of fun and funny things, but never once a "comic" item—so we have exploded that old superstition.

Such has been my method and my experience in a Church in a village of three to four hundred inhabitants. I commend it to my fellows. If they will follow the method or something like it, I do not think they will fail of the experience.

CHOREGUS.

POST-COLLEGIATE EDUCATION FOR MINISTERS

HE would be a strange critic who denied that ministers have too little time for reading and thought. He would be a stranger critic who said that they have so much money that they may buy as many books as they desire. The temporal and economical evidence of religious work in these days states with shadeless voice that a minister's time is scarcely ever his own, and that his purse rarely has in it a library division. The reactions of these facts upon the life of the Churches have not to be argued out. They are everywhere to be seen. Their acknowledgment is not a layman's prerogative—his barbed verbal arrow for use when the preacher has given a sermon that whips the "old Adam" or lends sharp emotion to the slow birth of the "new man." Ministers in all parts of our country will tell these things to proper persons. There are some counties in England where the religious newspaper is the only preventive against many a faithful man's writing another version of Mother Hubbard and her cupboard with greyer ink than that of Jeremiah. There are ministers in these counties who can hardly afford that flimsy preventive. Now

in an average week's work there are three addresses to be prepared! Did not Drummond call them "rabbit hutches"? And that modest description demands something more substantial than a notion of carpentry if a structure is to be the result. Even this formula—a few years in a college *plus* a newspaper *plus* the theological and ironical assumption that what humans withhold God will supply—cannot make a man a Christian messenger. Nor may such elementary and adventitious aids cause the preacher to be that sort of instructor who by a generation's work shall have helped to create a nation of human beings who exert imperially the principles of the revelation of Jesus Christ over all the areas of life. Ought organized Christianity to thwart that supreme attainment by ignoring the problem of the post-collegiate education of ministers?

There is no provision in this country for such work. What is worse is that there is no feeling that such provision is the paramount duty of organized Christianity. If the suggestion were made to any national ecclesiastical assembly that the minister of each Church should be given at least a fortnight's liberty each year, beyond his statutory vacation, for the purpose of education—we might expect to hear some swallow flights of criticism. And yet the Church will have to come to such an arrangement, and to recognize it as being one of the fundamental expressions of its will to live.

Let us then imagine that on some "far-off aeonian morning" agreement has been reached concerning that recognition, and we are in a position to discuss the how of the matter. What simple means of working could be suggested? There may be said to be two and a half answers to that question: an American and an English full answer and an Americano-English half an answer. The American answer would be to gather men annually back to their colleges, and there request the staffs to lecture on what they consider to be important topics. The English answer, so far as the Congregational Churches are concerned, is that the genius of the Church should be given some more room for expression. But how? The half-answer to our question is that we should institute Summer Schools, and that these should be held in other than academic centres. Is there the material for a complete answer in these two and a half suggestions?

England is divided into moderatorial areas. For Congregationalism has altered the map of our country. Each area is large and rich enough to establish on a financial basis its own post-collegiate scheme. There are one or two areas with too much money, and these, inspired by New Testament ideals, would find their social pleasure in contributing to the needs of the poorer areas. Money would be required to pay the lecturers, to aid certain ministers to reach the chosen centre, to ease the cost of entertainment in such a centre, and to circulate books. The functions of the scheme would be triple: (1) the founding and maintaining of the lecture centre for

each county ; (2) the planning of certain Extension work from such a centre ; (3) the convoking of the members of county and Extension gatherings unto an annual moderatorial assembly. The lecture centre for each county ought to be chosen with an eye that is careful for the main principle of the whole scheme. That is this—post-collegiate work for ministers is not fundamentally academical but social work. It must be done in a centre where the lecturers and the lectured are vividly conscious of the needs of men and women. That sentence does not say that Whitechapel is an ideal lecture centre for the county of Middlesex, and a touchstone as to choice for other English or Welsh counties. If we believe that the primary reason for the existence of the Church of Jesus Christ is to bring men and women into the most profoundly social relations with one another and their Lord, then there are villages, which are unmapped so far as denominational consciousness is concerned, which would be just where these efforts ought to take place. These extremes of choice, however, must figure in a properly developed Extension scheme. For a county centre it is necessary to choose a town where ministers can see from the windows of the lecture room the streets that lead to the houses and churches where they have to work. It would be wise to choose such a centre for the lecturer's sake. It surely can be seen in each instance why ! Let us suppose that the lecturer is speaking on the thought of Hermann and the future of Christology. The " feel " of his business is different if he is lecturing in a University or in a theological college, or in a room where he must shoulder that Pauline pack, " the burden of the Churches."

From this county centre, which could be strategically changed according to the setting of the county, work should be carried to the extraordinary centre, the Whitechapels and *villages perdues*. Here the local minister or ministers and the lay preachers could be brought into our educational movement—an anticipation of the time when Congregationalism will provide education for both clergy and laity. This Extension work has in view the relations of minister and lay preacher. There are counties where advance in effort or vision is impossible save that these relations are delicately adjusted and the two members of the relationship are progressively educated. It will be understood, of course, that the lecturer doing such work is not a camouflaged Moderator. The latter is an *episkopos* ; the former is an educationist to bring men to Christ. If you like, he is that type of evangelist for whom organized Christianity should have been waiting. Thus his artist's work of adjustment and evocation is informed and controlled by that which recreates men and women—the revelation of Jesus Christ. When that is said, we have not to prove that he will be a co-worker with the Moderator. The visible demonstration of their union should be made once a year in the moderatorial assembly. To that gathering representatives would be sent from the county

and Extension centres. There the sectors of the greater geographical area would manifest their unity of search. They might not show their oneness in attainment. As in the first century, so also in our times, the " foot "-sector and the " eye "-sector will be found in the same diocese. This annual assembly is the opportunity for the " eye " to say to the " foot " : " I have need of you." Where men and women could deepen the sense and practice of service, there we should be able to add the one possible improvement to the best-known poem by William Blake—the short word " *Fiat.*"

Let us again suppose that this problem has come for discussion before one of the national committees. It will be of little use for them to reply that " we have studied it together with the biographies of Professors Drummond and Elmslie, and we conclude that the crux of the problem lies in the choice of the lecturers." They might deserve re-election for coming to a safe discovery ; but they would as certainly merit deposition because they had forgotten to read the records of the revelation of Jesus Christ in the light of the Day-spring. Not to have done that is to have disregarded who and what is the prime energy of the Christian Church.

VACHER BURCH.

FOREIGN IMPRESSIONS AND REVIEWS

Mussolini as Revealed in His Political Speeches. Selected and translated by BARON DI SAN SEVERINO. Dent. 7s. 6d.

Problemi e Realtà del Fascismo. By CAMILLO PELLIZZI. Florence: Vallecchi. 8 lire.

By a strange chance the writer of this notice was in the City of Bologna, the capital of the so-called red Emilia, on a very critical week-end for Italy, April 2–4, 1921. Mussolini was in the town, and on the Sunday gave an important speech in the Teatro Comunale on "The Evolution and the Essence of Fascismo." The beautiful city with its open squares and narrow winding streets was crowded with people in a frenzy of excitement. The balconies were hung with flags—the national flag of Italy—and with many shouts and much clapping of hands the Fascisti forces were marching in full military formation into the town. One heard rumours that the Communists were also entering the city in force and a collision seemed inevitable. Machine guns were in position. But though shots were heard in the night, the critical day passed without loss of life. The Fascisti, early in the day, dominated the situation, and it was practically decided then that Italy would become Fascistic rather than Communistic or Bolshevist. The learned and noble Bologna, with its fine patriotic traditions, whose very walls recall the popular and patrician insurrection against the Austrians, welcomed Benito Mussolini with manifestations of solidarity and veneration such as were accorded to Guiseppe Garibaldi years before. The scene and the circumstances of that day left an ineffaceable impression upon all who witnessed it, and, though the party of British people who then found themselves in the storm centre of post-war Italian politics were hardly aware of the real significance of the events proceeding around them, the echo of those events resound in the world to-day. For the Fascisti really saved Italy from Bolshevism which was sucking her life-blood. Bolshevism had made headway in Germany. It had a grip upon Buda Pest. But it was upon Italy that it counted most. As Pellizzi tells us (cf. p. 206), money from Moscow had been poured into the country. Italy was to provide a new base for a revolution which was to be subversive in its aims, and world-wide in its scope. Whatever we may think of the methods and the tactics of Fascism—most of us are dependent on second-hand and garbled reports—when Mussolini struck, he was fighting a battle for all Europe, and the least we can do is to try to learn from reliable and first-hand sources what were the principles for which he contended, and what were the historical and the political conditions which determined their form and character.

Before we consider these, however, we must endeavour to form an estimate of the personality of "Il Duce," or "the Commander," as Mussolini is called. From the first he has been the very soul of the Fascisti movement, its fire and its force, its brain and its heart. The "Speeches" are a revelation of the two latter; the triumph of the Fascisti at the recent elections—with a majority of nearly two hundred over all other parties in the Chamber—the evidence of the two former. San Severino's Introduction and Pellizzi's scattered references throughout his book give some account of his amazing career, from the blacksmith's shop to the Treasury Bench, as we should say. In 1917 he was a private in the trenches by the Piave,

unknown outside the circles of aggressive socialism ; afterwards he becam the Editor of *Il popolo d' Italia* ; to-day he is the sworn and relentles enemy of socialism and the Prime Minister of Italy. Such a swift fligh might well make a man dizzy. But he has kept his head. " Believe me," he said to the Senate in June 1923, " I do not get drunk with greatness I would like, if it were possible, to get drunk with humility " (*Speeches* p. 318). A deep, genuine, passionate love for Italy, an Italy prosperous great and free, inspires all his thought and governs all his conduct.

But ardent passions without ideas to regulate them are always dangerous " Passion of itself is blind and its world chaotic," as Professor Hobhous says. Mussolini has ideas and he has thought them out. He is a ma of absolute courage both in utterance and in action. He has rigidly dis ciplined himself, and he enforces discipline on all who work with him. I he thinks a course of action is right, he goes through with it and fears n man. He truckles to no group, political, ecclesiastical or industrial. Eve when the truth is brutal he rips it out with no garnish of rhetoric or poiso of flattery to blunt or conceal its cutting edge. The sheer massive strengt of the man, that makes his followers obey him implicitly, compels hi enemies at least to respect him. He plays upon every string of the lyre from violence to religion, from art to politics. He asks his friends, " Ar you spiritually prepared for the task that awaits you ? Do you thin that enthusiasm alone is enough ? Because it is not enough. It is neces sary, because it is a primitive and fundamental force in human nature it is impossible to do anything not inspired by intense passion or religiou mysticism ; but that is not enough, together with these must work th reasoning forces of the brain " (*Speeches*, p. 169). He is no fatalist o believer in stars and destinies. He has the old Roman conception o history and life. Things must never be thought to be irreparable. The are always a challenge to the moral will, and in him that moral will function as an elemental force in the political life of Italy. Pellizzi describes hi at an election meeting in Milan in 1919 (p. 94) ill-clad, with a little cap o the back of his head, a stick under his arm, his eyes absorbing and mobile his hands clasped in nervous movement, his great jaw shut like a beas that holds its prey tight.

In most modern States, he holds, it is not programmes that are wanted but men to carry them out. " All the problems of Italian life—*all*, I say— have long since been solved on paper ; but the will to put these solution into practice has been lacking. The Government to-day represents tha firm and decisive will " (*Speeches*, p. 209). These words were among th first spoken by Mussolini after he became Prime Minister. They inaugu rated a new era in the political life of the country. Italy had becom weary of mediocre, timid, place-hunting politicians of the Giolitti type The wrangles between the ten or more political parties obstructed busines in the Chamber. Extravagance and inefficiency marked the administra tion. The policy of drift would have ended in bringing Italy to the abyss But the strong man emerged, and we can well understand the motives tha inspired the electorate in giving him an overwhelming majority.

Now let us consider the Fascisti movement more from the standpoin of its leading principles and ideals. It is not easy for an Englishman t grasp these without a knowledge of Italy and of Italian history, and especi ally of the *Risorgimento*. An excellent introduction to this and a grea help to the understanding of Mussolini would be the reading of G. M Trevelyan's three books on the Garibaldian Epic.[1] The " Black Shirts have had the " Red Shirts " in front of them as a model or example o

[1] Now published (without the notes and illustrations) by Nelsons at 2s. 6d. each.

successful " direct action." By " direct action " Garibaldi secured the political unity of Italy. By " direct action " Mussolini and the Fascisti are aiming at the social and economic unity of Italy. It was due to the wisdom of Cavour that Piedmont was not given a dominating place in the constitution of the new united Italy. Mussolini has the wisdom to see that no single class must dominate the Italy of his imagination and his hope. The Marxian terms " proletariat " and " bourgoisie " are, in his view (and in the view of many others), abstract, and do not correspond with reality and history. The Fascisti movement cuts through all political and economic classifications and embraces representatives of all classes, all ranks, all professions, all creeds. It asks from its members a love for Italy. It exacts from them implicit obedience. Mussolini holds a philosophy of violence, and Pellizzi is an eloquent exponent of it. A surgeon must be violent in dealing with gangrene, says the latter, and Mussolini announces that his Government will deal ruthlessly with any class or section of the community that attempts to exploit the nation in its own interests and for its own ends. This open advocacy of violence by responsible exponents of " Fascismo " is, in our view, a dangerous element. It tends to encourage disorder, if not crime. It is already a cause of embarrassment to the leaders of the party. To carry out their own principles they will be compelled to deal ruthlessly with their own people in order to enforce discipline. How much of this will Mussolini's followers " stand " in the full flush of victory ? The Italians are a hot-blooded race, and a philosophy of violence may prove a boomerang.

The absolute and emphatic repudiation of a materialistic and an economic interpretation of history and society, and the substitution for this of an ethical and mystical interpretation, is characteristic of both Mussolini and Pellizzi. It is important that we should understand that there is an ethical passion at the heart of " Fascismo." Mussolini is constantly giving expression to it. It may almost be said to be the burden of all his speeches. For example : " This Fascista revolt, and we could also use the more sacred and serious word revolution, is inspired by indestructible and moral motives, and has nothing to do with incentives of a material nature " (*Speeches*, p. 76). And again : " We, Fascisti, do not speak only of rights, we speak also of duty, as Mazzini would have wished. We have not only the verb ' to take,' we have also the verb ' to give ' " (p. 77). Pellizzi is equally clear : " It is a question of an ethical will that communicates itself from the few to the many, and moves them not so much by economic advantage as by its own inward *virtù*, both æsthetic and passionate. Human activity is not yoked to economic necessity, but economic necessity is rather yoked to a tendency at once ethical and æsthetic " (p. 112). It is an ethical state, not an economic state, that the Fascisti seek to create. Both Mussolini and Pellizzi urge upon the rank and file of their followers the importance of their duty in creating this state. It is not a static but a dynamic reality. Running through Pellizzi's book is a contrast between two ideas of the state described as " mimetica " and " metessica." The meaning of the former term is fairly obvious, " imitative " ; it refers to a type of state that rests upon tradition, and is dominated by the ideals and methods of the past, which it seeks to imitate. The word " metessica " is most difficult. It is to be found in no Italian dictionary. Even a native Italian scholar did not know what it meant when I consulted him. I can only think that (in contrast with the merely imitative) it refers to the creative and revolutionary ideal of the Fascistic state.

The " aristocratic " ideal of Fascismo should also be noted, but it must be carefully remembered that this word is used both by Mussolini and

Pellizzi in its ancient rather than in its modern sense. The Fascist movement is aristocratic in the sense of giving a definite recognition to the finest minds of the community, *wherever* they may be found. The new aristocracy, however, is not constituted merely by the finest *minds*, but by those who also possess faith, devotion and force. This has an important bearing on the organization of "Fascismo," which has three elements: Il Governo, La Parte, and Il Partito. The first is, of course, the Executive, the last is "the party" as politically organized, with its electoral machinery, etc. The second, "La Parte," is really the party of competence, or as we might say, "the brain" of the movement—its advisory council. This is the aristocratic element, and it is recruited from all classes of the community. "La Parte is the true Fascistic aristocracy" (Pellizzi, p. 121). Under the authority of Il Governo is "la Milizia Volontaria delle Camicie Nere" (the voluntary militia of the Black Shirts), which is officered by some of the most distinguished soldiers of the Italian army, and organized and equipped for instant action, if the stability and the security of the country are threatened either from within or from without. Before one criticizes this one ought to remember the difference between Italy and England. A paragraph of Pellizzi's will explain what I mean. "For a long time Italy has been a country in which if anyone went down to the public square and fired shots for an idea, no one would interfere with him, not even the few policemen, who would probably arrive late on the scene and with orders not to interfere. If the fusileer had cartridges enough, he would probably, in the course of twenty-four hours, have the whole place behind him, not so much to shoot, as to applaud his words and his crimes, save that they would proceed to massacre him as soon as his cartridges were expended" (p. 120). Happily in this country we have a way of dealing with lunatics before they become dangerous.

We cannot leave this subject without a word or two on the attitude of the Fascisti to democracy and to the Church. Mussolini always condemns the idolatry of the masses. In considering this attitude we must always remember our own long and slow training in democratic institutions. It is a serious thing for democratic and parliamentary government when six millions out of ten millions of voters do not trouble themselves to vote, as was the case in Italy (cf. *Speeches*, p. 176). "If Democracy had its uses and served the nation in the nineteenth century, it may be that some other political form would be best for the welfare of the nation in the twentieth" (p. 176). Mussolini is against a parliamentary democracy because it has corrupted and weakened the Italian State and threatened its very life. Perhaps it would be better to say that he is anti-democratic only in the sense of being against the vices and the corruptions which, in Italy, have brought discredit to democratic institutions. He holds that the fate of a Government ought not to depend on parliamentary manœuvres, which may be underhand and unscrupulous. The trouble in Italy seems to have been that Governments, never sure of their lives, have been compelled to devote all their energies to conciliating the votes of Deputies instead of to the administration of the State.

With respect to religion, Mussolini's government has shown not only toleration but also respect for all creeds, and especially for Catholicism. At Ouchy he said to the Press: "My spirit is deeply religious. Religion is a formidable force which must be respected and defended. I am therefore against anti-clerical and atheistical democracy, which represents an old and useless toy. I maintain that Catholicism is a great spiritual power, and I trust that the relations between Church and State will be more friendly." As Rome is the capital of Italy, so the Fascisti are proud to

think that their capital is the spiritual capital of the world. On the order of the illustrious philosopher, Giovanni Gentile, Fascistic Minister of Education, the crucifix has been replaced in the schools. We were glad, however, to be told by the Rev. Emilio Bonsani, at the Annual Meeting of the Continental Evangelical Society, that the protests of the Waldensian Churches against this have been effective, and that in *their* schools a picture of Christ receiving and blessing the children takes the place of the crucifix. Compulsory religious instruction has been introduced in public elementary schools, but we have the assurance of Signore Bonsani that the consciences of minorities are respected.

We should like in conclusion to assure our readers that the Fascistic revolution does not mean the dictatorship of one man with the cracking of whips and machine guns. Mussolini is afraid of a revolution that destroys and does not create. His aim is to restore to civilization a solid moral basis. "A nation is great when its spiritual force is transferred into reality." History, he tells us, offers chances only once. We can only express the hope that he will use the chance that has come to him for the good of his country and of the world.

The German Child.

We fear that there is little room for doubt that of all the innocent victims of the war, the child has suffered most. This is in a measure true of the child in all the belligerent countries, but it is specially true of the German child. It is not easy to be dispassionate upon this subject. There is a soft place in all our hearts for children, whatever their nationality may be. When we see them suffering for the sins or for the follies of their elders, our pity and our sympathy only become the more acute. The man who can witness this unmoved must have a heart of stone. He cannot have a Christian heart. Our Lord Himself was moved with indignation when His disciples repelled the children. In the degree in which we share His spirit we should be indignant with those who shut their hearts and their ears to the cry of the suffering child. If that child is a German child it ought to make no difference. We can be just without necessarily being sentimental. It is in this spirit that we approach this subject, and we trust that our readers will follow us in the same spirit.

The writer of this "impression" has had peculiar opportunities of observing child-life in Germany. In 1911, through the kindness of the British Embassy in Berlin, he obtained an order from the Prussian Minister of Education to visit Prussian schools. He visited all types of schools and saw the children and boys and girls both at work and at play. He was allowed to question them, and to study the methods of classification and instruction. The experiences of those distant days left on his mind an impression of the hardness of the life of the German child, particularly of the Elementary School type. The hours of work were long. Opportunities of self-expression and for play were few. Punishments were severe. Fear, not love, seemed to be the predominant emotion. Discipline is always and everywhere important, but when it tends to destroy joy and spontaneity it becomes dangerous to the development of personality. This is true of adults; it is still more true of children. The last fifty pages of Otto Rühle's *Das proletarische Kind* make terrible reading. We fully realize that this book (written in the Marxian interest and throughout an attack on the Capitalistic system) requires cautious reading. All the ills that flesh is heir to and all the sufferings of the children are, in the view of the author, either directly or indirectly due to this system. Conclusions of this kind cannot be accepted without challenge and without criticism.

The book, however, is full of data derived from official documents, and it is difficult to escape from evidence of this kind even when we may dissent from conclusions drawn from it. The statistics of child suicide in Germany are startling, particularly to us, among whom the dreadful fact is almost entirely unknown. It is a terrible thing to learn that in Prussia alone in the course of the last thirty years there have been 1,708 cases of suicide—1,346 boys, 362 girls. Rühle assigns, as the chief motive of this, " Furcht vor Strafe " (dread of punishment). Other causes are mentioned, such as starvation, illness, mental weakness, sexual perversion; but dread of punishment is, in his view, the chief one. But, whatever may be the cause, the fact that such a large number of children have taken their own lives in the course of thirty years is appalling. We cannot make Capitalism responsible for this, but rather the hardness and the harshness of the system of discipline which takes no account of individuality, and which subjects the child to a pressure and a strain that become in extreme cases unendurable.

The statistics of juvenile crime point in the same direction. In the German Empire, before the war, cases of this amounted on the average to 50,000 annually. From the middle of the war period the cases have increased enormously. The following figures show this: 1914, 51,500; 1915, 75,785; 1916, 114,610; 1917, 189,483. In 1921 the numbers doubled those of 1917. We can readily understand that with fathers at the front or fallen and mothers in the factories, domestic control was almost entirely withdrawn, with disastrous results upon the morals of growing boys and girls. The picture that Rühle draws of the life in the Reformatories for Boys and Girls (the Fürsorgenerziehungsanstalten), I cannot but think, is exaggerated. We have means of checking it from other sources. Still, allowing for this, there is irrefutable evidence of harshness and brutality. Punishment is looked upon rather as reprisal than as reformation, and results in a weakening and not a strengthening of moral fibre.

Personal observation of child-life in Germany since the war has demonstrated beyond doubt the war's disastrous effects. One has only to stand outside an Elementary School and watch the children as they leave to see this with one's own eyes. They are pale and thin, anæmic and undersized. Even in their play they are lifeless and joyless. Children up to ten years of age have been underfed and badly clothed during the whole of their lives. One rarely sees a bright-eyed, rosy-cheeked boy or girl. They look at you as though they were frightened of you. The total disorganization of the teaching staff has meant huge classes. We grumble at classes of 50 and 60 in this country. In Germany there are classes of over 100 children. There are some cases where the numbers amount to 160. What must be the nature of the instruction in such circumstances? No teacher, however well trained, can possibly cope with classes of such a size. They give it up in despair. The physical condition of the children and their home influences, about which we shall speak directly, make them incapable of taking in such instruction as there is. The result must be a deterioration of mentality which is ominous for the future of the country.

But in this connexion we are not dependent upon personal observation, which must inevitably be limited. We have also the published reports of School Medical Officers. These are a dismal record of the devastating effects of the war upon the lives of the children of Germany. Infantile mortality has gone up by leaps and bounds. Here undoubtedly the proletarian child has suffered most, though Rühle widens the meaning of the term " proletarian " from its Marxian use so as to include the children of all those who earn their own living. In that case most of our children are proletarian—that is, if parsons, professional men and business men may

be said to earn their own living, a concession for which some of us feel greatly obliged. We are anxious not to overburden these notes with figures, so we shall content ourselves with merely summarizing the medical reports. According to the Report of the Berlin Society for Child Welfare (1920), of the 3,383,900 children of the German great cities, 200,633 were found to be tuberculous and 835,973 were seriously undernourished and afflicted with various diseases. This leaves out of account the huge number of those who died in infancy. This is part of the terrible cost of the war in human life and human happiness. Saxony seems to be most heavily hit, and this is the part of Germany which is most industrialized and where woman labour, especially in the textile industries, is most prevalent. " Rightly," says Rühle, " tuberculosis is the ' Proletarier-krankheit ' (the proleterian disease)" (p. 216). I fear we must regretfully admit the truth of this. In addition to undernourishment as a prolific cause of tuberculosis and scrofulous diseases, domestic and housing conditions must be taken into account. We hope to give an account of these conditions generally in Europe in another issue. Most European countries—especially France, Austria and the United Kingdom—are suffering from the housing problem, but the way in which the German population is herded together in great blocks of barrack-like dwellings provides a veritable nursing-ground for all kinds of contagious diseases, of which tuberculosis is the most prolific. The number of people sleeping in one room, the cases in which more than one and sometimes four and six sleep in one bed, have been steadily on the increase since poverty and war conditions suspended all building operations. Children who have no bed at all are to be found throughout Germany. They sleep where they can, in any odd place. " Kein Bett, ohne Hemd, ohne Schuhe " (No bed ; without shirt and shoes), is a common and pathetic description of the life of a child. We could give some gruesome details of the effect of these domestic conditions on the health and the morals of the German child. Before the war it was a rare thing to see a German boy or girl without shoes or stockings. Alas ! it is all too common to-day. We see it here, too, but wherever we see it it moves the heart to pity. It is true we feel it more than the children do, but that does not make our pity less heartfelt and poignant. In nine schools of Kaiserslaütern, with 8,214 children, 2,784 were only moderately clad, 917 were badly clad, 8 possessed no shirt at all, 220 only one, 345 no warm underclothing in the winter, 169 very bad boots, 438 no boots at all. Reports from towns all over Germany point to similar or worse conditions. There is general agreement among medical authorities that the physical inferiority of the German child is due not to an inferiority of the organism in its beginnings but to the bad conditions into which the child is born. There we must leave the matter. The aftermath of war is a terrible indictment of all those who encourage it and profit by it. Among the millions who suffer from its scourge, the most helpless and the most innocent is the child. For him at least the disaster is irreparable. Nothing can recover for him a lost childhood. He carries with him throughout life a dark and dreadful memory unrelieved by any bright gleams of joy and hope. Even in the night he is afflicted with dreams of terror. An enfeebled body, and in many cases a weakened mind, place upon him a handicap in the struggle of life which, severe even under the most favourable conditions, almost entirely destroys his chance of happiness and progress.

Kunst und Geschichte. By Dr. H. Luckenbach. Munich and Berlin: Oldenbourg. 1922. 3 vols. 4s. 6d. each.

The small space left to us makes it impossible for us to do justice to this truly fine work. It is astonishing that it could have been produced at such a low price. The type, though small, is clear, and the illustrations, some of them in colour, are an evidence that the German printer has not lost his cunning. It will appeal both to the specialist and to the novice. The former will at once realize that it is a monument of exact scholarship. The latter, even if he knows little German, will derive both pleasure and instruction from turning over its pages. The lover of art and the student of history will be glad to have in his possession a work that brings art and history into relation to each other. Moreover, the traveller in Egypt, or in Greece, or in Italy, or in Germany, will learn to know what to look for and how to look for it, if he prepares himself by the study of this book. It is pathetic to see the visitor to the Roman Forum, armed with Baedeker or victimized by a guide, trying to identify the ancient temples. It is perhaps still more pathetic to feel that confusion oneself! A valuable feature of the book is that in the sections that deal with the buildings of classical antiquity, the temples, the palaces, the tombs, the theatres, the baths, the fortifications, the markets, the streets, etc., side by side with their present condition is a fine drawing of their original completeness and beauty. The ruins of Troy, Tiryns, Mycenæ, Priene, Delphi, Athens, Pergamon, Rome, are treated in this way. Plans and sections of the buildings are given, together with their elevations; these will be most valuable to the student of architecture. One can also gain an excellent impression of ancient town-planning, the grouping of the buildings and the arrangement of the streets. The various styles of Greek architecture, Dorian, Ionian, Corinthian, are illustrated and briefly described, and there are excellent photographs of Greek and Roman sculpture and pottery and coinage.

The second volume deals with the period from the break-up of the Roman Empire to the end of the eighteenth century. It is prefaced by illustrations of the early cave and lake dwellings, and these are followed by interesting plans of the various types of ancient German village and by pictures of peasants' houses. One has seen villages and houses of these types in the Germany and Austria of to-day. Plans of ancient German cities such as Aachen, Brandenburg, Stettin, will be valuable to those who are visiting these cities. There are also pictures and plans of the great mediæval castles such as Marienburg, Wartburg, Heidelburg, and from these we are led to the study of the more modern royal and princely dwellings such as the palaces in Dresden, Potsdam, Berlin. The last half of the second volume is devoted to painting. Illustrations are given of Dürer, Holbein, the various Italian schools, Rubens and Rembrant, together with the reliefs and the sculptures of Donatello, the Robbias, and above all of Michael Angelo. Illustrations of coins from the time of Justinian to that of the ex-Kaiser William and of heraldic signs complete the volume.

The last volume treats of the architecture, sculpture and painting of modern Germany. The brief introduction is a model of clear and concise statement, and these are excellent reproductions, some of them in colour, of the modern German painters, whose works may be seen in the Berlin, Munich and Dresden galleries.

W. Blackshaw.

CURRENT LITERATURE

" Read not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, nor to find talk and discourse, but to weigh and consider."—FRANCIS BACON.

" A good book is the precious life-blood of a master spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life."—JOHN MILTON.

(*The place of publication is London, and the date* 1923 *or* 1924, *unless otherwise stated.*)

A Man—Finished. By GIOVANNI PAPINI. Hodder. 10s. 6d.

All I Could Never Be. By J. F. MAKEPEACE, M.A. Blackwell. 4s. 6d.

The Life of Olive Schreiner. By C. S. CRONWRIGHT-SCHREINER. Fisher Unwin. 21s.

Letters to Three Friends. By W. HALE WHITE. Milford. 10s. 6d.

The Groombridge Diary. By DOROTHY V. WHITE. Milford. 12s. 6d. With *Letters to Three Friends,* 21s.

Lincoln. By N. W. STEPHENSON. Hutchinson. 21s.

The Journal of George Fox. Edited by NORMAN PENNEY, F.S.A. Dent. 5s.

Dr. John Clifford, C.H. By Sir JAMES MARCHANT, LL.D. Cassell. 12. 6d.

These biographies and autobiographies should serve as useful case-books to the psycho-analysts. How William James would have rejoiced in Papini's human document—with its abundant evidence that Papini, its writer, is one of those abnormal and pathological types who furnished James with so much data.

First published in 1912, this English translation bears a title which is scarcely as good as that of the American translation—*The Failure.* There are passages in the book where the beauty of style and diction shine through the translation, and there are vivid pictures like that of the *Dies Iræ*, when all men " become their own judges beneath an empty heaven," but we have found it very difficult to get to the end. The ceaseless chatter about one's self and the constant morbid introspection are as irritating as they are unhealthy, and the contempt for other human beings and the total absence of modesty—opening the volume at random we find thirteen " I's " on one page, with many " me's " and " my's " thrown in—are the reverse of pleasing. Even in the confession of failure there is egotism : " It would, I think, be difficult to find a man who has made a greater failure of his whole life than I have."

The book is a medley of moods and contradictions. " My whole existence rests on the conviction that I am a man of genius. . . . I may not allow myself to be dissolved and sweetened in the milky beverage of common and ordinary well-being." This note is repeated again and again, and yet at times Papini calls himself an imbecile, a failure, and " a man—finished." But let anyone else think him a failure or finished, and he writes, " Come on, then, my lads ! . . . I am somebody, I stand for something, I have a past—and at all costs I am determined to have a future. And you ? What have you done, what are you doing ? "

Had it not been for *The Story of Christ* and the writer's adoption of Christianity, we doubt whether this book would have attracted much interest; as it is, we are left wondering if Papini's passionate devotion to his new faith is not a phase through which his strange and turbulent personality will pass as it has passed through many others.

We breathe a much less sickly air in Mr. Makepeace's well-written account of his spiritual pilgrimage. Trained for the Baptist ministry at Regent's Park College, Mr. Makepeace held pastorates at Bluntisham and Nottingham, and his life in youth, during training, and in the ministry—a very active ministry—is vividly described. With him all the time was the problem of authority—whence the authority of the preacher and of the Bible, whence the right of "private judgment"? Having concluded that revealed religion and private judgment are incompatible, Mr. Makepeace heard Dr. R. W. Dale's famous Easter sermon, and asked: "If Christ is alive, where is He to be found?" The answer was, "In the visible Church" (in which previously Mr. Makepeace had refused to believe), and the visible Church could only be the Church of Rome, into which Communion the searcher and his wife were received in 1912. An interesting and thought-provoking book.

We almost wish that we had not read Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner's life of his wife. It is sometimes necessary to cry "Save us from our friends," and those are wise who desire protection from biographers whose love and unbounded devotion cover a multitude of defects and prevent the formation of sound judgments. Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner's detailed biography—into which he has put a great amount of work—has disturbed our idea of Olive Schreiner as a talented woman who combined keen humanitarian sympathies with literary gifts, one whose name was, in J. K. Jerome's words, "a synonym for earnestness and sincerity." At times blemishes are admitted—Olive was "impossible in business matters," "utterly unpractical," and "had no faculty of working with other people," but in the main the estimate is one of almost indiscriminate eulogy. The *Story of an African Farm* is referred to as if it were an *Iliad*, a *Divine Comedy*, or a *Paradise Lost*, and its writer is called "a spiritual seer," who had "genius on the spiritual plane," a mind of "phenomenal power," and an "exquisite [literary] standard." Her eccentricities are always reckoned as the mark of genius, and when we learn (it occurs three times in the book) that boarders in hotels told the owners that "either she must leave or they must" because of her habit of walking up and down at all hours, banging on tables and other things with her fists and talking to herself, it is explained that this is because she was like Beethoven, Diderot, and John Knox—full of explosive energy.

Though this volume is valuable for its mass of detailed information about Mrs. Schreiner from the only person qualified to give it, yet we feel that many of her admirers will wish they had been satisfied with their vision of her as revealed in her writings. An asthmatic subject, who never knew in what place she would find health, with an abnormal youth and education, Olive Schreiner's development was one-sided. In the sphere of imagination she had a peculiar and distinctive gift which enabled her to render no small service to her generation, but it is doubtful whether any of her writings will survive the test of time.

That it is not impossible for a lover to be a good biographer is proved by Mrs. Hale White's charming volumes, which will be eagerly devoured by all Mark Rutherford enthusiasts. The genesis of the volumes is itself

a romantic story. Dorothy Horace Smith and William Hale White fell in love, despite a disparity of 45 years in their ages. *The Groombridge Diary* is the lady's account of the courtship and the two years of married life which followed—intimate and revealing and yet in excellent taste. The way in which the wise and sombre old man, with his well-known views of religion and of the Churches, developed under the affectionate care of an ardent Christian believer is an interesting study.

Letters to Three Friends consists of Hale White's letters to Mr. and Mrs. Colenutt, Miss Partridge, and Mr. Philip Webb, and cover the period from 1872 to the writer's death in 1913. It would be possible to quote from almost every letter—shrewd criticisms of books and persons are interspersed with paragraphs which enable one to picture White's life and follow his thoughts. In view of the fact that Rutherford's prose is the envy and despair of many an author, it is worth noting that it was his habit to read the Bible through frequently, while Shakespeare was his constant companion.

White was an invalid and a man of moods, but he was not without humour. Returning to England with three companions in a cabin the size of a wardrobe, he says:

> "It was like being sealed up in a place beginning with 'h,' and with the added malady of *mal de mer*. Nevertheless, after three weeks in a foreign land, it was refreshing to hear my own countrymen sick in their native language."

The volumes have been edited with admirable care and restraint, and we are indebted to Mrs. Hale White and the Oxford Press for giving them to us.

Notwithstanding the frequency with which books on Lincoln appear, Mr. Stephenson's "account of his personal life, especially of its springs of action as revealed and deepened by the ordeal of war," is extremely fresh and readable. As the title suggests, the volume attempts to fathom the depths of Lincoln's mind and to trace the development of his policy; it manages to do this without ever becoming fanciful or losing contact with the facts. It is a pity that careless proof-reading should mar so good a book—there are slips on pp. 68, 109, 116, 119, 139, 163, 180, 249.

The tercentenary of George Fox has been marked by the publication of this new edition of his *Journal*, under the capable editorship of Mr. Penney, for long the Librarian at Devonshire House. Scholars, of course, will always employ the 1911 Cambridge text, but there was need for a handy edition in one volume. Shorn of many of Fox's papers on matters no longer of general interest, this new edition will be widely used by those who want to learn more about the founder of the Friends. Dr. Rufus Jones writes an Introduction, and William Penn's "character sketch" (from the original edition of the *Journal*) is prefixed.

Sir James Marchant has been wise to let Dr. Clifford speak for himself as much as possible: in the extracts from his diary, reminiscences, letters and speeches we get something of the earnestness, fire and passion of one who was a great prophet of righteousness. It is a pity the volume has been published so hastily; there are many signs of hurry, and sometimes it is almost impossible to discover who is writing. For example, the chapter "At Home" begins:

> "Dr. A. C. Benson, of Magdalene, writes the Rev. E. E. Hayward in one of those penetrating sayings with which his delightful essays abound, observes: . . ."

The "delightful essays," of course, are Dr. Benson's, not Mr. Hayward's; what Mr. Hayward writes is the whole chapter, as a reference to the preface

shows. The same hurry is no doubt responsible for the fact that the chapter on "The Education Question" fails to convey anything of the thrill of the controversy or of the "joy of battle," and also for the fact that whole paragraphs are transferred from the article Dr. Clifford wrote for this journal (Vol. II, pp. 6–20) without any reference to their source.

EDITOR.

Our Empire's Debt to Missions. By J. N. OGILVIE, D.D. Hodder. 7s. 6d.

The Kingdom Without Frontiers. By HUGH MARTIN, M.A. S.C.M. 3s. and 2s.

The Missionary Genius of the Bible. By V. F. STORR, M.A. Hodder. 3s. 6d.

The Winning of the Far East. By SIDNEY L. GULICK. Hodder. 6s.

The Clash of Colour. By BASIL MATHEWS. Livingstone Press. 2s.

Christianity and the Race Problem. By J. H. OLDHAM, M.A. S.C.M. 7s. 6d.

Mahatma Gandhi. By ROMAIN ROLLAND. Swarthmore Press. 5s.

Robert Morrison. By MARSHALL BROOMHALL. S.C.M. 5s.

Here are eight books which every student of foreign missions ought to read. Dr. Ogilvie's "Duff Lecture" is an extremely useful piece of work. The interplay of Missions and Empire has long needed adequate study, and it has now received careful exposition by one in every way qualified for the task—for Dr. Ogilvie possesses both knowledge and enthusiasm. It is rather surprising to find that while credit is given to the Pilgrim Fathers, and especially to John Eliot (not Elliot, as Dr. Ogilvie has it), for their missionary labours, their missionary motive, as expressly set forth by Governor Bradford, is not quoted:

> "Lastly (and which was not least) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation . . . for the propagating and advancing the Gospel of the Kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work."

The sub-title of Mr. Hugh Martin's book is "The Witness of the Bible to the Missionary Purpose of God." Mr. Martin traces that purpose from the Judges through the Suffering Servant and Jonah to the universalism of Jesus and Paul, and then suggests questions for group discussion. Canon Storr had also noticed the need for a book on this subject, and it is interesting to put his volume side by side with Mr. Martin's. The first chapter—"A Changed Outlook"—is frank and useful.

Dr. Gulick prefixes to his account of a year spent in China, Korea and Japan as a representative of the American Churches and of the World Alliance a description of the Japanese earthquake and of American relief efforts. Dr. Gulick's main mission—and his previous experience as a missionary in Japan gave him peculiar fitness for it—was to "push" the ten years' "campaign for a warless world," and his observations deserve careful thought. It is very easy for us to forget that "China is undergoing in a single generation what Western countries have experienced in three centuries—the intellectual revolution, the industrial revolution, and the political revolution."

Mr. Basil Mathews' *The Clash of Colour* is an excellent little book in

which the author's unrivalled gifts of description and exposition are seen to great advantage. The problems of the Pacific, of Africa (with the negro problem in the United States) and of India are surveyed in turn, and then comes a powerful appeal for the " world team " to unite in " the real war."

Those who desire a fuller treatment of the colour question should turn to Mr. Oldham's book—which is marked by the wide and accurate knowledge and the sound judgment that readers of *The International Review of Missions* have come to expect. Features of the volume are its use of very recent work on the subject and its note of urgency and passionate earnestness. We shall read Mr. Oldham's book a second time—and that is no light praise.

The association of the names of Romain Rolland and M. K. Gandhi is very striking, and inevitably, with such a writer and such a subject, the result is a most interesting book. Dr. Ogilvie's references to Gandhi scarcely give a fair impression of one whom Mr. Mathews, in the book just noticed, calls " the supreme prophet of Indian nationalism," though Mr. Mathews thinks Gandhi " flung away one of the greatest opportunities in the world's history. For he proclaimed a policy of race separation in an hour when the whole world is interdependent." Gandhi's remarkable career is vividly described by M. Rolland in a sympathetic study, though at times his interpretation of it—like the translation—is not quite convincing. There are misprints on pp. 31 and 106.

The " Modern Series of Missionary Biographies " promised to be a most useful series, and the promise is rapidly becoming achievement. The Rev. Marshall Broomhall's *Robert Morrison* is the latest addition to the series, and it is worthy to rank with the volumes on Martyn, Duff and Coillard. EDITOR.

Visions of Hope and Fear. A Study of the Book of Revelation and Its Message for To-day. By G. W. THORN. Student Christian Movement. 5s.

The Apocalypse of St. John. By M. G. GLAZEBROOK, D.D. JOHN MURRAY. 6s.

The Revelation of St. John the Divine. A Devotional Commentary. By W. J. L. SHEPPARD, M.A. R.T.S. 2 vols. 3s. 6d. each.

Book of Revelation. By JOHN OMAN. Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d.

What is the explanation of the renewed interest in the *Revelation* suggested by these volumes? Is it that Dr. Charles's great work has inspired others to put his findings in popular form or provoked them to state their disagreement? Or is it that Second Adventists, Millenarians, and literalists have become so voluble that protests must be made in the name of truth and reason? Whatever be the cause, it is gratifying that so many able men are facing the most puzzling book in the N.T., a book that for the vast majority of Christian people is fast sealed. The introduction, the letters to the seven Churches, and a few consolatory passages about the New Jerusalem and the after life—these are known and carry their message of warning and comfort; but the pages about trumpets and horses, beasts and woes, remain unopened. It is probably safe to say that not one Christian in ten, and not one minister in three, could give a presentable account of the contents of the book. Did not an Archbishop once tell of asking a friend what impression a reading of the Apocalypse had made upon him and getting the answer: " Chaos "?

The volumes before us tackle their subject in various ways. Mr. Thorn believes that "to attempt to interpret this book logically is to essay a hopeless task. We are dealing with the work of a man of mystic temperament in the throes of divine inspiration." He holds that the solution of the book's puzzles is psychological, and can be found only in the study of the writer's religious consciousness. Where Dr. Charles alters the position of a passage in order to secure the ordered development of an argument, Mr. Thorn does not look for order or development: he considers that the writer jumped from one vision to another as ideas came surging up from the subconscious. The treatment is full of suggestion and the lessons for the present day well brought out, and there are some apt quotations.

Canon Glazebrook's volume (in the Modern Churchman's Library) aims, admittedly, at making Dr. Charles's results available for those who have not the leisure or scholarship to study the larger work. The A.V. is printed for reference, and in readable, well-arranged chapters Charles's findings are summarized, with occasional divergences. The whole of the ground is covered in 153 pages, and the book may be warmly commended to ministers and other students.

Mr. Sheppard's is a devotional commentary of the old-fashioned type, which takes the book as it stands and elucidates its meaning verse by verse, generally quoting the names of authorities in brackets. Readers who are satisfied with commentaries of this kind will find Mr. Sheppard helpful. In the main he relies on Swete, Milligan, Trench, and Vaughan (whose lectures, though sixty years old, are still worth reading). The atmosphere may be gathered from the fact that Christina Rossetti is quoted as many times as R. H. Charles, whose work Mr. Sheppard's preface does not mention.

Principal Oman's book is of the exactly opposite kind, concerned as it is with questions of text. Dr. Oman is not generally associated with the textual criticism of the N.T.; his present incursion into this field is due to a seminar and Christmas dissipation. While others were busy with crackers and mistletoe, the learned Principal was engaged with a remarkable jig-saw puzzle, and the result is this fascinating book, which makes us feel as if we would like to let all other work go to the winds and stick to this—much as a man says he *will* get out a game of patience before he does anything else. Dr. Oman starts out from the fact that there is obvious disorder in the text of the book; at the end, e.g. nations need healing (22^2) after pain and sorrow have passed away (21^4), and unclean, etc., must be kept out of the Holy City (21^{27}) after they have all perished in the lake of fire (21^8). He notes that there are glosses and an epilogue not of the same style as the rest of the book, and obviously the work of an editor. He then discovers that without these glosses the book divides itself into sections of almost exactly the same length. These he supposes to be sheets, and the disorder in the text is due to the misplacing of the sheets. The reconstructed text is given in Greek and English in the corrected order, with the glosses at the end. We await with interest the verdict of N.T. specialists on this striking study.

EDITOR.

The World of Souls. By WINCENTY LUTOSLAWSKI. Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.

The author of this book is well known as a philosopher and scientist who has written several works in Polish, German, French, and English. The most important of these is an exhaustive study of Plato entitled *Th*

Origin and Growth of Plato's Logic. Published in 1897, it forms the philosophical groundwork of the book now before us. *The World of Souls* has had a rather remarkable history. It is an expansion of an earlier work entitled *The Progress of Souls*, which failed to find a publisher in England or America. The author then rewrote it in German, and it was issued in Leipzig in 1899 under the title *Seelenmacht, Abriss einer zeitgemassen Weltanschauung*. This work has now been reproduced in English, with the addition of some new chapters. To the original work Professor William James wrote an introduction, and that, too, is reproduced here. William James says of the writer: "He believes vitally and practically. For him this universe is really made up of souls and their relations. A perfect passion of friendship, love, brotherhood, and loyalty sings throughout his pages. These things are the absolute things in his universe. With them, with freedom, with immortality, all good things are possible; the best is really possible, for the organs of its possibility are really here. We live in a genuinely spiritual republic, slowly but surely evolving into what men have dreamed of as the Kingdom of Heaven." Regarding it a little more soberly, we may say as James does that it is a book of "unabashed ideality." Mr. Lutoslawski does not argue so much as seek to express himself, and he expresses himself in terms that most certainly arouse the interest, if they do not command the assent, of most readers. He is profoundly convinced that only on the assumption of the existence of a soul can human life be either understood or rightly lived, and he illustrates and enforces his view of the existence and meaning of the soul-world with a great wealth of well-chosen material. His book is full of wise counsels as to the management of life, particularly in regard to the education of the individual and to the problem of sex. But here again the study and knowledge of souls is essential, and it is by such means that the true philosopher is made. In James's introduction to the original work he describes Mr. Lutoslawski as a polytheist, but the alterations made in this latest edition of the book shows that this description is not true. The writer says of himself: "I am no longer a polytheist, and have no doubt that God is the Creator of the universe. I have learnt to know my Creator and am most anxious to reveal Him to those who do not know Him; but that can be done only to those who know their own souls, and this book is intended to prepare the way for a work on Divine Rule which, like the *Phædrus* of Plato, will contain the original blasphemy and a fit recantation." Mr. Lutoslawski writes English clearly and well. He has a real message to proclaim and certainly succeeds in carrying his readers along with him.

W. B. Selbie.

A Philosophical Study of Mysticism. By Charles A. Bennett. Yale and Oxford University Presses. 12s. 6d.

Books on mysticism continue to fall from the press—some still-born, some to live a short uneventful life. A few, like Baron Von Hügel's *Mystical Element of Religion*, achieve a profound and lasting effect on theological and philosophical thought. Dr. Charles A. Bennett, of Yale University, here gives us something more than a merely competent piece of philosophical reasoning. He writes out of an enviable fulness of knowledge, with an easy handling of material, and, above all, with a reassuring spiritual and theological insight. The essay is fresh and vivid in treatment, and the discussion is an admirable illustration of cultured and informed reasoning. If the essay is tentative and incomplete, this is due to the fact that, with a scholar's modesty, the author recognizes the vastness of his field of investi-

gation and the impossibility of any one student mastering the details of the entire subject. Dr. Bennett's claim to have offered a certain *identification* of mysticism and to have pointed out some of its workings in the general economy of life is amply vindicated. And it is done in a very refreshing and intelligible manner. He succeeds in demonstrating that mysticism has contributions to make towards the solution not only of problems of religious knowledge, but also of problems of conduct. He is only incidentally concerned with speculative mysticism, "a metaphysical doctrine which proclaims the abstract unity of the Godhead and the obliteration in it of the particularity of individual souls and finite objects," and concentrates upon mysticism as a way of life, in which the conspicuous element is the immediate experience of God. He is concerned with what William James called "the classic religious mysticism," and his illustrations from Plotinus, Teresa, John of the Cross, and Ruysbroeck are admirably chosen. He observes acutely that "the mystic is more like a man wrestling with a problem than a man wrestling with a disease." The discussion of the mystical ambition—"Union with God"; of the mystic claim to an immediate experience of God; of intuition—and the inference that all growth in understanding involves the use of a mystical factor—is cogent and stimulating.

In Part III of the essay Dr. Bennett tackles the difficult but vital problem of "Religion and Morality," and here he makes admirable use of illustrations drawn from modern literature. The chapter on "The Future of Mysticism" demands the thoughtful attention of all called to the work of spiritual guides in an age of extreme perplexity.

W. Major Scott.

Religion and Natural Law. By C. F. Russell, M.A. Oxford: Blackwell. 5s.

Mr. Russell's aim in these Hulsean lectures is to assimilate our religious ideas with the system of "Natural Law" which has been established by the scientific view of the world, especially as regards the doctrines of Providence, of Punishment and Forgiveness, and of Atonement and the Problem of Suffering.

His first lecture is an exposition of the method of Divine revelation—in Nature as Power, Order and Beauty; in the social relationships of mankind as Righteousness and Love; and in the inner spiritual life of man as Wisdom and Truth. By an act of faith we recognize the unitary source of these three channels of revelation, and thus arrive at the doctrine of the Trinity, or rather of the Tri-unity of God. The succeeding lectures apply this principle to three departments of thought outlined above. History is the story of God's providential handling of the developing race of mankind in education and experience of Himself, without at any time interfering with moral freedom, the abuse of which has brought evil into the world. Undeserved suffering and misfortune are the incidental results of the solidarity of mankind within society and with the order of nature, to be cured by better knowledge of natural law and by better social relationships; and they are but the reverse side of the enormous benefits which this solidarity brings to all. As against the notion that the reign of law seems to do away with the idea of Providence, Mr. Russell affirms that it rather "furnishes us with an explanation of the method of His presence. It is by means of law that His control is exerted." But we must not imagine that God's will is manifested in the evil results of sinful acts. These are permissive as regards the Divine will, being the result of the misuse of

reedom on the part of men. Their consequences are a part of the notive-power urging to the elimination of the evil which has caused them.

Space makes it impossible to enlarge further on the argument. The volume is provocative of thought, and well worthy of careful study, even f it does not always carry us whither the author would. The chapter on he Atonement, while very suggestive, is likely to challenge opposition in nany minds—but that is only to say that it deals with a subject so difficult and profound that no writer can hope to take the reader with him all the way. E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature. By JAMES Y. SIMPSON, D.Sc. Hodder. 7s. 6d.

Those who read this work when it first appeared in 1912 will be glad o know that it has again appeared, in a revised and partly re-written orm. So many things have happened since then to unsettle and in many directions revolutionize the intellectual and religious outlook of mankind, hat no book issued before the war could properly be re-issued without ome amount of reconsideration. On comparing the editions it is reassuring o find that the author finds so little to alter in the presentation of his ubject—there is indeed little in the book that is really new, though fresh llustrative material is added and some positions are slightly modified. As to the message of the work, it is surely one that needs greater emphasis han ever, for anything that can be done to lift the cloud of apprehension nd disillusion from the minds of thousands of thoughtful people and restore o them the inspiring sense that, in Carlyle's words, " this universe is not charnel-house and a grave, but God-like, and MY FATHER'S," is to do hem an undying benefit. This is what Dr. Simpson assuredly does. One nas only one point of criticism to urge. The intellectual and æsthetic aspects of the physical order are ably and satisfyingly put forth in their heistic bearings, and the treatment of biological facts in the same direction s developed with signal freshness and force ; what one misses is a full *ad hoc* treatment of the problems of suffering and loss in Nature which nave been so over-emphasized by certain scientists that the beneficent and kindly aspects of the natural order have been almost driven out of sight. This is all the more surprising because there is plenty of relevant material o hand for the rehabilitation of the doctrine of the Divine benevolence in Nature, though as yet it has not been brought together in a sufficiently convincing way. Two suggestive pages is all we have on this problem—o well done that we would we had much more. E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

St. Paul on Trial: A New Reading of the History in the Book of Acts and the Pauline Epistles. By J. IRONSIDE STILL, M.A., D.D. Student Christian Movement. 7s. 6d.

Dr. Still writes primarily to expound a theory that the *Acts of the Apostles* was composed as a statement of relevant facts for use in the defence of Paul before a Roman court. This theory involves two theses. The first, hat the *Acts of the Apostles* has an apologetic aim, has not been overlooked by previous writers. It is here clearly set forth in a series of arguments which in the main carry conviction. In the application of the hypothesis o the explanation of the phenomena of *Acts*, such as the selection, arrangement, and omission of material, we meet with some fresh and acute observations well worthy to be considered. The second thesis is that this apologetic document can be shown to have been composed at a particular time and for one specific purpose, namely during Paul's imprisonment at

Cæsarea and for use in his trial. Here the author puts a case, resting as it seems to us on inconclusive evidence, but open to argument. He weakens his case indefinitely, however, by combining it with a theory regarding the history of the Apostolic Age and the writing of the New Testament documents, which on point after point ignores or treats with irresponsible levity the considered positions of modern scholarship. He tells us in the introductory chapter that " the findings of scholarship have been present to the writer's mind, although no express reference is made to scholars." We take his word for it. Yet it would have been of interest to students to learn on what grounds, for instance, he sets aside so generally received an opinion as that which attributes *II Peter* to the second century; and even if that would have gone " beyond what the ordinary reader could endure," was it fair to that reader to make use of *II Peter* as a genuine letter of the apostle without a hint that anyone could think otherwise of it? Again, the treatment of the origin of the Synoptic Gospels (*Mark* being " known as early at least as A.D. 46, if not before ") is rather startling to one familiar with our current authorities. Perhaps they have misled us all, but in the present book nothing that could be called evidence for it is offered—even if one includes the piece of verbal juggling with *hyperetes*. Dr. Still would have been better advised to put forth his main thesis in a carefully considered argument, keeping strictly to the point, and not involving all this mixture of questionable exegesis and ill-supported speculation which must inevitably shake confidence in his whole position.

C. H. Dodd.

A Critical Examination of the Peshiṭta Version of the Book of Ezra. By C. A. Hawley, Ph.D. Columbia University Press and Humphrey Milford. 9s.

This slender volume is one of real value to textual specialists, and of interest to all those who have given attention to the book of Ezra-Nehemiah as our chief witness concerning the historical foundations of Judaism.

The Syriac translation of the whole Bible, called the Peshiṭta, was the work of Christian scholars living (most probably) in the district round Edessa, and representing the highly interesting Syriac communities of the disputed territory which during the years A.D. 1–600 lay, linguistically and politically, between the Greek-speaking Roman Empire on the West and the Persian Empire on the East. The value of the N.T. portion of the Peshiṭta has long been admitted. To the same version of the O.T. Book of Ezra all importance whatever has sometimes been denied, even by such scholars as Torrey and Klostermann.

Mr. Hawley's thesis is that the Peshiṭta of this Book, completed before the middle of the fourth century, was made not from the Greek LXX, but directly from the original Hebrew and Aramaic by persons who were well acquainted with both languages, or at least had the assistance of qualified Jewish scholars. It was moreover a highly intelligent, if somewhat free, translation, and after the due correction of a number of copyists' errors, affords a very important criterion for the textual criticism of our present Massoretic text.

For example, he demonstrates that the translator was well aware of the Rabbinic differentiation between the written (k'thīb) and the read (q'rē) text. In twenty-eight cases where these differ he (the translator) has obviously considered each on its merits, selecting the latter seventeen times and giving in five instances a third version of his own. In forty-two cases Mr. Hawley finds that the Peshiṭta has preserved for us a reading lost or corrupted in our Hebrew text.

One example must suffice to show that the Syriac Ezra is certainly independent of the Greek LXX. In 9⁴, where the Greek renders the Hebrew *the minḥāh of the evening* by *the evening sacrifice* in literal fashion, the Syriac paraphrases *the ninth hour*, namely the hour of prayer, which, when there was no temple and no minḥāh sacrifice, took the place of this—a most intelligent rendering.

Mr. Hawley is one of those Americans whose work strengthens our confidence in the value of Transatlantic Semitic scholarship. He has studied in Halle and at Marburg and Basle, and is a pupil of Duhm, Budde, Brockelmann, and Gunkel, amongst others. We thank him for this craftsmanlike little book and wish him success in further investigations along the same lines. J. P. NAISH.

Modern Hebrew Literature. By J. L. LANDAU, M.A., Ph.D. Longmans. 3s. 6d. (Paper covers.)

Chief Rabbi Landau, in addition to his important ecclesiastical office, occupies the chair of Hebrew in the new Witwatersrand University at Johannesburg. He is an enthusiast on his subject, and discourses pleasantly about nine of the most significant modern writers of Hebrew prose and poetry. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a considerable output of such literature, some of those concerned being adherents of the reform movement initiated by Moses Mendelssohn, whilst others were as emphatically in re-action against it. Dr. Landau himself is an ardent Zionist and nationalist. With modernism, either in theology or in historical criticism, he has little or no sympathy, whether the movement be Jewish or Christian. But his general attitude is gentle and friendly, and especially so towards the work of Christian Hebraists. In particular he speaks most warmly of the scholarship of Reuchlin, of the two Buxtorfs, and of Franz Delitzsch.

The chief interest of the book, apart from the valuable and unique information which it contains, lies in its revelation of what we may perhaps call the scholarly synagogue mind. Its whole atmosphere is semi-oriental; it might almost have been written by an English-speaking Indian. Orthodox Judaism has succeeded to a remarkable extent, even in England and Germany, in remaining mentally "east of Suez".

The English of the translations offered is unfortunately extremely poor, and does no sort of justice to the originals, and it is a pity that some of the author's wealthy co-religionists on the Rand did not see to it that his book appeared in a worthier form. The general get-up suggests cheapness and belies the nature of the contents. J. P. NAISH.

The Philosophical Theory of the State. By BERNARD BOSANQUET. Fourth Edition. Macmillan. 15s.

Nothing in the way of exposition need be said of Bosanquet's theory of the State. The fact that the volume has run into four editions is sufficient proof that its idealistic position cannot be neglected by any one interested in political philosophy. The tendency of thought to-day is against the *unitary State* and the absolute sovereignty such a State implies. Nevertheless, those who have only read the first edition, or who have gathered their knowledge of Bosanquet's theory from other writers, would do well to ponder the very fine preface to the second edition published in 1919, and included in this edition, in which the writer meets the various *post*-1914 objections to his theory. After all, though absolute sovereignty does lie in the community, the community as an organized whole must express itself and exert its will through some association. Sovereignty is a neces-

sity of society ; some association must have the final word, and be entrusted with force or the means of maintaining the conditions of the good life. On the other hand, it is a dangerous thing to lift the State above the community. The reader should read along with this book Laski's *Authority in the Modern State.*

JOHN G. MCKENZIE.

SHORTER NOTICES AND DESCRIPTIVE LIST

HATS off to the Cambridgeshire Education Committee! The Advisory Committee appointed by it, with Dr. Nairne, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, and Dr. T. R. Glover in the van, has given a real lead in regard to the religious teaching in schools in three works just published by the Cambridge University Press—*The Cambridgeshire Syllabus of Religious Teaching* (1s. 6d.), *The Children's Bible* (4s.), and *The Little Children's Bible* (2s.). The syllabus contains four courses of lessons for ages 5–7, 8–11, 12–13, 14–18, respectively, and many valuable suggestions. There are details, of course, where one can find fault—we doubt, e.g., if all the members of the Education Committee could explain the meaning of some of the verses of " Praise to the holiest in the height," a hymn suggested for the older children, and Bibliography IV has so wide a range that its value is very small. The two Bibles are admirable, and should be widely used, though it is hard to see why both should open with the Annunciation rather than with the birth of Jesus.

Dr. M. R. James's *The Apocryphal New Testament. Being the Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles and Apocalyses, etc.* (Oxford University Press, 10s.), is one of those books that make a reviewer blush for shame—they deserve so much more adequate treatment than space can afford. Ministers who require a post-collegiate course of study could not do better than work through this volume. For long one of the main *desiderata* of students of the New Testament and of the Early Church has been a handy, scholarly collection of New Testament Apocrypha, and now the need is supplied in one of the best and cheapest volumes we have seen for a long time. Dr. James brings to his task great erudition and the genius that takes abundant pains, and his Introduction shows how he formed his Canon and suggests many lines of thought. In collation and editing, as well as in the actual translation, the book must have meant a great amount of work, and we are deeply indebted to its editor and to the Oxford Press.

We often wonder if works of the type of *The Speaker's Bible, Deut.–Ruth* (Aberdeen : Speaker's Bible Office, 12s. 6d.), are of ultimate service to the Churches—there is much to be said on both sides of the argument. All preachers should have, and use continually, Dr. Hastings's *Dictionaries*, and, even more, his *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* : thus they enrich themselves and their congregations and strengthen their characters by the intellectual exercise. But there is a danger lest volumes like the one before us make things too easy for the preacher, doing the work for him instead of compelling him to do it for himself. If the preacher uses such volumes as aids to, and not substitutes for, conscientious preparation, they are of service, and once grant that works of the kind are necessary they could not be better done than the present series. In this volume we have been specially struck by the up-to-dateness of the works quoted—some of them books noticed lower down in this list.

The Decalogue (T. & T. Clark, 7s. 6d.) contains Dr. R. H. Charles's Warburton Lectures. A Critical Introduction traces the development of

the Decalogue from the fourteenth century B.C. (Dr. Charles attributes its earliest, and shortest, form to Moses) to its latest form in the Nash Papyrus (c. 200 B.C.). This sound contribution to learning is followed by fourteen lectures on the Ten Commandments, three being devoted to the second, three to the fourth, and two to the sixth. It is a pity that the lectures are marked by the inclusion of much irrelevant controversial matter; it may be true that "Syndicalism is not merely an offence against religion and morality, it is a criminal movement pure and simple, which draws its inspiration, not from heaven, but from the pit"; but Canons of the Church of England would have made a great outcry if this had come from a Nonconformist pulpit!

Preachers who purchased the first volume of Dr. Budden's and the Rev. E. Hastings's *The Local Colour of the Bible*, will have their money ready for Vol. II (T. & T. Clark, 8s.), which deals with the Old Testament from 1 *Kings* to *Malachi*. The complete work will be a very serviceable book of reference; many difficult passages become easy of interpretation in the light from the ancient and modern East which our authors throw upon them.

It may be because notes at the end of chapters rather than on the page to which they refer, are always exasperating to us, but, whatever the cause, we lay down Canon A. W. Robinson's *The Christ of the Gospels* (Student Movement, 4s. 6d. and 3s.), wondering for whom it was written. It cannot be written for scholars, for the chapters on the Gospels take no account of much recent work; and if it is aimed at the ordinary reader, surely the ground has already been covered. *Jesus in the New Testament* is another Student Movement book (2s.), in which the Rev. J. P. Alexander prints Summer School addresses that study circles will find very helpful.

Canon Guy's *Was Holy Communion Instituted by Jesus?* (Student Movement, 6s.) fills a gap. His "candid enquiry" contains little that is new to New Testament students, but the evidence is set forth clearly and fully, and discussed fearlessly. Differences in the accounts of the Lord's Supper in the Gospels and in 1 *Cor.* are examined, and the relation of Paul to Jesus, to Judaism, and to the Mystery Religions considered. The result is a very useful volume, and it is an encouraging sign when a parish priest can produce work of this nature.

Even more useful, however, is Dr. G. W. Richards's *Christian Ways of Salvation* (New York: Macmillan Co., 12s.). Its thirteen lectures sum up most aptly the subject of the book. Whether Dr. Richards is dealing with pre-Christian ways of salvation or giving historical and expository accounts of Christian ways, he is equally at home. Nor does he fail—as is so often the case—when he comes to construction. His last chapter examines and approves the tentative confession of faith of the United Free Church of Scotland.

Dr. P. L. Couchoud's *The Enigma of Jesus* (Watts, 3s. 6d.), translated from the French, derives any value it may possess from Sir J. G. Frazer's Introduction. Dr. Couchoud, a medical man, is of the school of Drews and Robertson. Jesus never existed. "His sole reality is spiritual. Everything else is an illusion." The writer's rank as a historian may be gathered from the fact that, with the utmost confidence, he describes Paul as "a terrible little man, a spirit of fire in a dwarf's body . . . a fiery little gnome."

In *Israel before Christ* (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d.) the Rev. A. W. F. Blunt shows the sound scholarship we noted in his commentary on *Acts* (Clarendon Bible). His account of social and religious development is packed with information, and there are well-chosen illustrations.

We are indebted to the Rev. T. H. Darlow for gathering together twenty-

three of Dr. Rendel Harris's devotional addresses in *As Pants the Hart* (Hodder, 6s.). The association of these two names is an illustration of how Christianity overcomes all differences. In the abstract Mr. Darlow abhors Quakers and pacifists—he believes in the State and in its shining sword; in the abstract Dr. Harris hates militarism and all its works—he would be torpedoed seventy times seven rather than touch the shining sword once; and yet the two are friends and brothers in Christ, walking arm-in-arm in this delightful volume. It shall go with other of Dr. Harris's devotional volumes on our shelves, and next to them, a worthy companion, shall stand Mr. Darlow's *Via Sacra*, so that they may proclaim continually unity in Christ.

Who are *The Thinkers of the Church?* In a book with this title (J. Clarke, 6s.) Dr. A. B. D. Alexander has the difficult task of selecting them. The result is interesting enough, not least so in spotting those omitted. Shades of John Knox! He is not "a thinker of the Church"! The Puritans generally come off badly, and—while we are aware that modern Nonconformity is not overrun with thinkers—one or two companions to Dr. Griffith-Jones's *Ascent through Christ* might have been found. In the authorities, too, there are striking omissions, e.g. Hunt's *Religious Thought in England* and Fairbairn's great chapter on Calvin in the *Cambridge Modern History*. Numerous slips undermine one's confidence in the book—Dr. Fairbairn was at Aberdeen, not Dundee; A. V. G. Allan is Allen, *T.* Pringle Pattison is *S.*, etc.

All who have to read history, and much more those who have to write it, should ponder well the first chapter of Prof. E. T. Merrill's *Essays in Early Christian History* (Macmillan, 15s.). It deals with "Materials and Methods," and is full of warnings which, elementary as they are, are often forgotten even by careful workers—indeed, we are not sure Prof. Merrill does not himself forget some of them later in the book! The other chapters treat of various matters in the first four centuries, the last showing that St. Peter's connexion with Rome has no historical basis.

Prof. G. F. Moore's *The Birth and Growth of Religion* (T. & T. Clark, 6s.) contains eight lectures, packed with matter, clearly arranged and developed. Occasionally a technical term might have been avoided, but it would be difficult to imagine a better summary of the subject.

It is always a cause of satisfaction when works of learning come from ministers in pastoral work, and Mr. Le Marchant is to be congratulated on his *Greek Religion to the Time of Hesiod* (Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes, 7s. 6d.), a real contribution to the study of a difficult subject. Mr. Le Marchant traces Greek religion from pre-Herodotean times, from Olympus itself, down to Homer and Hesiod. He writes easily and well, though occasionally the meaning of a sentence is not clear. And not even a Congregational minister can be forgiven for publishing a book of this kind without index!

Prof. W. W. Hyde's *Greek Religion and Its Survivals* (Harrap, 5s.) is Vol. 24 in the "Our Debt to Greece and Rome" series. It also is without index, but it has a useful bibliography; it covers some of Mr. Le Marchant's ground, but goes on to consider Greek influence on early Christianity and on religious life and thought generally.

To some preachers has been given the power of presenting truth in clear, definite, virile fashion, to others the gift of apt illustration. Only the fortunate few combine the two, and Dr. H. E. Fosdick is among them. His *Twelve Tests of Character* (Hodder, 5s.) has all the good qualities of his previous books, and it will be warmly welcomed on both sides of the Atlantic; it is the kind of book that all young people might read with advantage.

In *Living Issues in Religious Thought* (Allen & Unwin, 6s.)—a suggestive little book with a not very apt title—Mr. H. G. Wood reprints ten papers from various periodicals dating from 1914 to 1923. The three historical papers are very readable, and the criticism of the writings of Bertrand Russell, H. G. Wells, G. B. Shaw, and Kirsopp Lake acute and penetrating. There is a misprint on page 32.

While we are in general agreement with Dr. C. J. Cadoux's thesis in *The Christian Crusade* (Dent, 3s. 6d.), and believe with him that Christians will have to follow their Master's teachings much more closely if the world is to be won, we have to confess impatience with his methods. Pacifism is his "King Charles's head"; of twenty-nine pages of this book devoted to the Church, ten are given to pacifism; of eighteen given to Sunday Schools, three discuss military drill, etc. Dr. Cadoux is in danger of boring just those people he wants to convert. Especially does he irritate by the pedantic way in which he refuses to use the ordinary English spelling of the names of Greek writers. When the average man reads *Origenes* for Origen and *Epiktetos* for Epictetus, he says at once: "It's perfectly plain what a lot of cranks these pacifists are; they are so peculiar that they won't even spell like other people." We are certain that Dr. Cadoux puts obstacles in his own path, and this book, like his previous writings, contains so much that deserves careful thought that it is regrettable that many readers will be put off.

Those who heard Prof. J. W. Buckham's masterly survey of American Congregational theology at the last International Congregational Council will turn with eagerness to his *Personality and Psychology* (New York: Doran, $1.75). They will not be disappointed, for they will find a scholarly criticism of the newer psychology and a vigorous exposition of his views by one who believes in the supremacy of Christian personality. Another thoughtful book on the subject is Dr. N. Bishop Harman's *Religion and the New Psychology* (Lindsey Press, 2s. 6d.), three addresses illustrated, in the main, from medical science. The book takes its title from the first address; the others are on "Human Achievement" and "Does Nature Forgive?" Dr. W. L. Northridge's *Recent Psychology and Evangelistic Preaching* (Epworth Press, 2s. 6d.) applies the "new psychology" to the work of evangelists and to revival movements. Incidentally the Methodist three years' system is defended because it secures that Christians give their affection to Christ and not to Christ's ministers.

Reality and Religion (Macmillan, 2s. 6d.) consists of brief meditations on God, Man, and Nature by Sadhu Sundar Singh. Canon Streeter contributes an Introduction, telling of the Sadhu's movements since 1920.

In a very doleful preface to *Problems of Belief* (Hodder, 3s. 6d.), Mr. F. C. S. Schiller says that "our traditions and our mode of life conspire to reduce our thinking to a minimum." That does not prevent him, however, from doing his best to stimulate thought, and he has given us a very valuable book, though he deplores that it is "a little book on a big subject." Ministers would do well to get it. The same might be said of Sir Oliver Lodge's *Making of Man* (Hodder, 3s. 6d.), which is a study of evolution, concerned not merely with what man was and is, but with what he is to be. Perhaps the most impressive idea in the book is the insistence on the effort and travail of evolution, suggestive as it is in its application to the problem of pain. Sir Francis Younghusband, whose writings are always fresh and attractive, develops the same idea in *Mother World* (Williams & Norgate, 6s.). "The heart of the world is good," and Mother World is "in travail for the Christ that is to be." The beginning of Chapter I and the summary of the life and teaching of Jesus are very finely written.

A Roman Catholic has at last taken up one of Dr. G. G. Coulton's gloves—he must have thrown down dozens of pairs! *Roman Catholic Truth* (Simpkin, 3s. 6d.) is a discussion of Dr. Coulton's onslaught in *Anglican Essays*, the Roman Catholic champion being Father L. J. Walker.

Dr. R. E. Hume has given us a handy book of reference in *The World's Living Religions* (New York: Scribner, $1·75). The eleven living religions of the world are surveyed and compared and their sacred books described.

Dr. F. J. C. Hearnshaw's *Democracy and Labour* (Macmillan, 10s. 6d.) is the sort of book that makes one gasp. It is almost impossible to believe that at this time of day a teacher of history should speak of men and things in such violent terms. To one trained under history professors whose use of a superlative was an event, this volume, teeming with superlatives and always using the most extravagant adjectives, seems far more dangerous than the Socialism it denounces. The temper of the book is, indeed, deplorable; it is often cheap and sometimes nasty, and the description of the Guild Socialists is outrageous. Really an undergraduate ought to know that it serves no useful purpose to talk of any revolutionaries as "a gang of devils incarnate," of "Christian Socialism" as "the vain illusion of bamboozled bishops, perverted priests, and confounded curates," or to refer to the I.W.W. as the "I Won't Works" or the "Idle Wastrels of the World." In works of this kind Dr. Hearnshaw is prostituting his undoubted gifts, and the pity of it is that he is also spoiling a good cause—instead of convincing men that constitutional action is wiser than direct action, one can only imagine a book like this having exactly the reverse effect.

The second impression of Mr. A. J. Penty's *Guildsman's Interpretation of History* (Allen & Unwin, 10s. 6d.) reminds us again that a man may be wise and yet his knowledge be very limited. Mr. Penty writes very sensibly about economics, but he is both ignorant and perverse when dealing with religious history. Apparently he accepts Cobbett's account of the Reformation without qualification, and his reading of English history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is strange indeed. In *Social Struggles in the Middle Ages* (Parsons, 6s.) Mr. M. Beer, the learned historian of Socialism, carries forward his general survey. *Social Struggles in Antiquity* had already been translated, and the present volume is a translation of the larger work dealing with the centuries from the fourth to the fourteenth. The educated person will find nothing new in Mr. Delisle Burns's *Short History of International Intercourse* (Allen & Unwin, 5s. and 3s. 6d.), but he will find it an extraordinarily useful and interesting summary. It is good to have gathered together a description of how art and science and letters, music, printing and trade, have surmounted national barriers.

Mr. Watkin Davies's *How to Read History* (Hodder, 2s. 6d.) is the best volume of the People's Library that has yet appeared. Those who want to know what books will give them an acquaintance with any period of the world's history will here find safe guidance. Mr. Davies has opinions about men and things, and sometimes we disagree with him and are surprised to find some books unmentioned, but his survey is exactly what the series sets out to be. Our only criticism is that he overworks the adjectives of appreciation—"masterly," "excellent," "brilliant," and the rest. To another excellent series, "Helps for Students of History," the S.P.C.K. has added Mr. E. R. Adair's *Sources for the History of the Council in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (3s. 6d.), a valuable little book on a subject that has not yet received adequate treatment. In this case ecclesiastical works are not overlooked, two works by Congregationalists

which appear consecutively in the bibliography being by the Rev. W. Pierce and the present writer. In *This Latter House* (Heffer, 1s. 6d.) Mr. B. L. Manning tells, in skilful and concise fashion, the story of the last fifty years in the life of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge.

The fact that Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Short History of Modern English Literature* has continued to sell steadily through ten impressions from 1897 testifies to its value. To a new and revised edition (Heinemann, 8s. 6d.) Mr. Gosse has written a new preface and substituted two new chapters for the original final chapter.

Mr. F. H. Doughty's *Education and the Spirit* (Birch, 3s. 6d.) is an indictment of our present education system, which has a wrong psychological basis and aim that mere superficial changes cannot alter. The book suffers from too much compression; the pages are packed, both with type and with authorities—opening at random we have on two pages quotations from Nunn, Semon, Butler, Wm. Brown, McDougall, Bergson, Shand, and Garnett. This, with a rush of sentences like "with this elaboration are evolved suggestion, and ultimately also the endopsychic and teleological process termed subliminal cerebration," leaves one confused rather than convinced. Much clearer is *Wider Aspects of Education* (Cambridge University, 4s. 6d.), which all interested in education ought to read. A characteristic preface by Mr. H. W. Nevinson is followed by two addresses by Mr. G. P. Gooch ("The Teaching of History in Relation to World Citizenship" and "Educational Co-operation with America"), and three by Mr. J. H. Whitehouse on American and International Education.

The names of the contributors to *The Necessity of Art* (Student Movement, 7s. 6d.)—Mr. Clutton Brock, Dr. Dearmer, Mr. Duncan Jones, Rev. Malcolm Spencer, Mr. A. W. Pollard, and Mr. J. Middleton Murry—guarantee the worth of the volume. Their contention is thus summarized: "The object of art is not to give pleasure, as our fathers assumed, but to express the highest spiritual realities. Art is not only delightful: it is necessary." We hope it is not invidious to mention Mr. Clutton Brock's essay—one of the last and one of the best he wrote—as the one we found most useful. We wonder if the group discussed books like Crouch's *Puritanism and Art*. Professor Lethaby's name is misspelt.

Mr. David Lowe's *From Pit to Parliament* (Labour Publishing Co., 5s. and 3s. 6d.) is supposed to tell of the early life of Keir Hardie. It should have been called, "The Early Years of the *Labour Leader*," and then perhaps Mr. Lowe would have been justified in writing so much about himself, even to the obscuring of that attractive personality, Keir Hardie. Mr. Lowe may have been excused for speaking, in the excitement of controversy, about "Mabon whining from the depths of his psalm-singing paunch," but he cannot be excused for writing thus twenty-five years later. Some sentences need translating, too: "It thirled him divinely to his class" might be intelligible north of the Tweed, but it is not English.

Four books of practical use to ministers follow. Dr. Maclean Watt's *Prayers for Public Worship* (Allenson, 5s.) is the Glasgow Cathedral Service book. The services are simple, dignified, and reverent, and the volume is worthy to rank with John Hunter's *Devotional Services*. Mr. H. Jeffs says some very sensible things in *The Art of Addressing Children* (J. Clarke, 4s. 6d.). If he can help the lay preachers in whom he is so much interested to talk wisely to children he will render excellent service to the Churches. The volume contains many illustrative addresses—one or two so good that we shall not hesitate to borrow them! Dr. F. J. Hall, having surveyed "Catholic Doctrine" in ten volumes, now, with the help of Dr. F. H. Hallock, deals with *Moral Theology* (Longmans, 10s. 6d., a stiff

price). The book's chief interest is its revelation of the viewpoint of American Anglo-Catholics, but every minister "with cure of souls" can learn much from its pages. There is a good bibliography. "A Priest of the Church of England" has issued "a handbook of moral pathology" under the title *The Morality of Birth Control* (Bale, 10s. 6d.). His belief is that "birth control by the use of harmless means is sinless when exercised for sound reason or just cause." His special concern is to show that Roman Catholic teaching on the matter is self-contradictory and, in any case, not authoritative for non-Romanists. The book is not well arranged, but there are useful appendices. Readers will be surprised to learn what the Roman Church permits to its adherents, and will be inclined to think that what is permitted may be morally more harmful than what is forbidden.

In *Modern Evangelistic Movements* (Thomson & Cowan, 3s. 6d.), edited by two University men, qualified persons describe the work of ten organizations, beginning with the Salvation Army and ending with the R.T.S. A useful book of reference with a misleading title. *Immortality* (Putnam, 7s. 6d.) has a galaxy of stars gathered together by Sir James Marchant to deal with aspects of the subject. *The Conquest of Fear* (Allen & Unwin, 5s.) is a cheap edition of Mr. Basil King's pertinent and suggestive book. *The Wonder of Lourdes* (Longmans, 2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d.) gives the impression made upon Mr. John Oxenham, Protestant and Free Churchman, by a visit to Lourdes. Acknowledging he cannot explain the cures, he believes "Lourdes to be a genuine revelation of the goodness of God to a world which, every day, stands more and more in need of it." The *Fairness of Trial* (Sharp, 5s.) contains nineteen sermons by the veteran, and still unsurpassed, Wesleyan preacher, Dr. W. L. Watkinson. Another veteran's book is Principal W. J. Henderson's *Aspects of the Great Life* (Kingsgate Press, 3s. 6d.). EDITOR.

Mr. Claude Houghton has written poetry which has won the regard of competent critics, and there is much in *The Kingdoms of the Spirit* (Daniel, 6s.) that suggests the poet. There is a certain lack of coherence between the essays, each of which is beautiful in itself. Sometimes the author seems in the grip of a mystical form of determinism, and at others he is robustly free; but the reader will be strangely dull who does not feel the impact of the rare spirit which finds utterance in these papers—a spirit that has affinity with the truth in every form of religion and has gathered rich store from their prophets and scribes.

Psychological Studies of Religious Questions (Williams & Norgate, 7s. 6d.). The Rev. J. C. Flower is a Lecturer in Psychology, but his essays have none of the "jargon" which is so exasperating to the ordinary man. Mr. Flower takes a subject—"Ourselves and Destiny," or "Faith and Fanaticism," for instance—and illuminates the well-worn terms with the knowledge gained in his study of the working of all the powers of human personality. He brings forward some apt illustration from literature, or more direct experience of human things, and then enforces his lesson in terse, clear diction. If any minister desires to write short sermons, he may learn the art from these strong and vital studies, and he will discover how much can be said in a few moments if one has the knack.

Mr. Heitland's purpose in the first essay in *Behind and Before* (Cambridge University Press, 6s.) is to warn students and teachers of history, and would-be politicians who follow them, against a too facile discovery of analogies between past history and present political situations. In his second essay he examines with sympathy the criticisms of the biologists

and social students, and, whilst he is by no means persuaded that the evils to which they point cannot be overcome, he tells us that " opportunities are slipping away." Driving power is needed and emotional influences cannot be dispensed with. The chief of these is religion, but religious bodies are rationalizing, and that timidly. They must agree to differ on points of technical theology and unite in philanthropic action. There are useful appendices, and excellent lists of books for further study. This would be an excellent text-book for class study by those who are training for public and social service.

The Rev. W. Wakinshaw's *Headsprings of Life* (Epworth Press, 3s. 6d.) consists of keen, vigorous sermons that would keep his congregations awake. If anyone dozed we can imagine a hurried awaking when the preacher bade him " Look at Dante ! " " Look at Lot ! " There is a prodigious store of illustrations, and when we gasp with admiration, Mr. Wakinshaw assures us that there are thousands more. Mr. Pringle will be glad to hear that Mr. Wakinshaw is quite frank about the Bible. With his thousands of illustrations in reserve we hope Mr. Wakinshaw will keep on preaching and publishing the sermons he preaches.

GEORGE SHILLITO.

Also received.

A. S. PEAKE, D.D. : *The Messiah and the Son of Man* (Longmans, 1s. 6d.).
C. R. BROWN : *The Religion of a Layman* (New York : Macmillan, $0.75).
R. G. MOULTON : *How to Read the Bible* (New York : Macmillan, $0.80).
J. DRINKWATER, M.A. : *Patriotism in Literature* (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.).
E. W. MACBRIDE, D.Sc. : *An Introduction to the Study of Heredity* (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.).
M. C. BURKITT, M.A. : *Our Forerunners* (Williams & Norgate, 2s. 6d.).
J. P. MAUD : *Life in Fellowship* (Nisbet, 3s. 6d.).
G. K. HIBBERT, M.A., B.D. : *The Inner Light and Modern Thought.* Swarthmore Lecture, 1924 (Swarthmore Press, 1s. 6d.).
J. GLASS : *Gambling and Religion* (Longmans, 3s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.).
G. ANDERSON MILLER : *Noble Martyrs of Kent* (Morgan & Scott, 3s. 6d.).
ANGLICAN EVANGELICAL GROUP : Twenty Pamphlets (Hodder, 3d. each).
W. J. DEY, M.A., D.D. : *The Message of the Book of Revelation* (Milford, 4s. 6d.).
H. E. LANGHORNE, M.A. : *Some Favourite Hymns.* (Skeffington, 3s. 6d.).
H. R. L. SHEPPARD : *The Human Parson* (Murray, 2s. 6d.).
F. W. BOREHAM : *A Casket of Cameos* (Sharp, 6s.).
SIR J. MARCHANT [edited by] : *The Spirit of Man.* Forty-nine Selected Essays from *The Times* (Allenson, 5s.).

PERIODICALS

The Holborn Review (April). Professor Herford writes on Byron and Professor Hornby on Stephen Grellet the Quaker. The Editor continues his article on Jewish Apocalyptic, while the Rev. Malcolm Spencer summarizes the experiences of many correspondents in regard to Christian inspiration. Mr. J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, returning to the United States after travel in English-speaking countries, advocates the League of Nations and a League of English-speaking nations to support it. Other articles are on " Alexander Whyte " and " John Knox as a Historian."

The Hibbert Journal (Apl.). The Editor has a good word for our " present social system," and Professor Muirhead comments on his " Government by Talk." Professor Gilbert Norwood writes (very suggestively) on " Organization," and among the outstanding articles in an excellent number are Dr.

Selbie's "Theology and the Thought of To-day," Dr. Meyrick Booth's "The German Youth Movement," and Professor J. W. Scott's advocacy of Homecroft Settlements as a remedy for unemployment.

The Pilgrim (Apl.). Mr. D. C. Somervell, who wants the laity to choose texts for sermons, writes on the camel and the needle's eye, the Rev. W. M. Pryke pleads for freedom in N.T. Criticism, and the late Professor Lopatin of Moscow for a "universal union for the revival of Christianity." The Editor writes on "Christianity and Politics," and there are other interesting articles.

The London Quarterly (Apl.). The Rev. R. H. Coats discusses "The Christ of Romance," Dr. E. J. B. Kirtlan Shelley's Creed, and the Rev. W. E. Beet "*The Pilgrim's Progress* as a Source Book of History." Dr. J. A. Faulkner examines the historical foundation of the Papacy, and Mr. A. B. Bateman writes on Maurice Barrès. Among the reviews are Professor Tasker's on Otto, and Professor W. T. Davison's on Sir G. A. Smith's *Jeremiah*.

The Baptist Quarterly (Apl.). Dr. Blomfield describes some Presidential experiences, the Rev. W. Olney writes on "Soul-Winning," and Professor Farrer on "The Place and Use of Scripture in Christian Experience." There are accounts of "The Baptists in South Africa," and of the lives of Andrew Fuller and Abraham Greenwood.

The Modern Churchman (March–May). The same names appear on the title-page month after month—fortunately for readers, the Editor, Mr. Hardwick, Mr. Fawkes, and Mr. Pryke all write well. One of the best articles in these issues is a very human discussion of N.T. Teaching in a Public School by the Headmaster of Christ's Hospital.

The Church Quarterly Review (Apl.). The Bishop of Ripon writes on Church Music, the Rev. F. P. Cheetham on "The Unity of the Fourth Gospel," and the Rev. A. T. Coldman on "The Self-Limitation of God." There are other scholarly articles and discussions—Bishop Gore is very severe in his strictures on Dr. Raven's *Apollinarianism*.

The Interpreter (Apl.). The Editor expounds *Das Heilige*, Miss Underhill writes on "Christian Fellowship," Dr. Bouquet on "Initiation," and the Rev. W. Robinson on "Baptism and Psychology." The Rev. H. A. Major deals with the Fundamentalist controversy in America, the Rev. T. Grigg-Smith with "The Presentation of the O.T. to Children," and Dr. T. H. Robinson with Serampore College. Other articles make up a useful number.

The Expository Times (Apl.–May). *Das Heilige* and "Fundamentalism" are discussed here also. Dr. J. E. McFadyen's "Zionism" is perhaps the most important article in these issues. The Rev. A. D. Belden writes on "The Spirit of Expiation."

The Expositor (Mar.–May). The articles on the "ten best books" deal with the Person of Christ, the Fourth Gospel, and the Life and Teaching of St. Paul. The last is by Dr. Cave, and it is an extremely valuable survey. Other Congregational contributions are Professor Andrews's "Modern N.T. Criticism and the Evangelical Faith" and Dr. Burch's "The Temptations of Jesus Christ—Were they Trance or Historical Experiences?"

The Review of the Churches (Apl.). If Sir Henry Lunn wants his Review to forward reunion, he had better not print eight papers on the same subject. Canon Lacey chastizes the Dean of St. Paul's, while Father Bull, scrupulously polite to and commendatory of Nonconformists, sneers at Dr. Coulton and is positively rude to the Bishop of Durham, whom Anglo-Catholics "cannot stand at any price." The outside observer will be compelled to say: "How these Anglicans love one another." The Editor is responsible for much of the Review; among the other writers are Dr. Garvie, Dr. Carnegie Simpson and Dr. Dearmer.

The Friends' Quarterly Examiner (Fourth Month) opens with the best tercentenary article on Fox we have yet seen. A description of Fox's friends at Preston Patrick follows. Mr. Harvey continues his study of Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Mattingley writes on "The Stoic and the Friend," there is an account of Quaker labours for Austrian children, and Miss Baynes expatiates on "The Happiness of a World without Examinations."

The International Review of Missions (Apl.). We turned first to Mr. C. F. Andrews's article on Gandhi and then to Dr. Balme's "Trend of Medical Mission

olicy in China." The Rev. A. Jeffery discusses "The Presentation of Chris-anity to Moslems," and Dr. C. R. Watson "Nationality in Islamic Lands." here are other articles, reviews, and bibliography.

The Yale Review (Apl.) is "on the spot" as usual, witness especially its rticles on the world situation—"Europe's Big Debts," "The Struggle for ower in Russia." and "What India Wants." Religion and philosophy are ealt with by Dr. F. G. Peabody, Professor Santayana and Mr. Bellamann, terature and history by Professor Bliss Perry, Miss Helen MacAfee, and Mr. ollett. Miss Repplier writes on American Humour, and Mr. Grant Watson as a sketch of "A Sussex Man." The review section is well done.

The Review and Expositor (Baptist, Louisville, Kentucky, Apl.) asks whether ie early Christians were premillennialists, and discusses "Puritan Ideals and ie Twentieth Century." Mr. Belden has an article on Redemption, and rofessor H. H. Horne his second Horton Lecture on "Christ in Man-Making."

The Harvard Theological Review (Apl.). The *pièce de résistance* (58 pp.) Professor de Zwaan's "Was the Book of Acts a Posthumous Edition?" rofessor J. T. Addison writes on "Ancestor Worship in America," and Dr. irsopp Lake on "The Apostles' Creed."

The Princeton Theological Review. This ultra-conservative journal has wo articles on the Inspiration of the Bible. There is a long account of the fe and work of Dr. John DeWitt, and the second part of Professor Jenkins's Problem of Mental Evolution."

[*All books and periodicals reviewed in this Journal can be obtained om the Book-room of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, lemorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C.*4]

CORRESPONDENCE

The Editor of the CONGREGATIONAL QUARTERLY.

SIR,—In his article in the current issue of the CONGREGATIONAL UARTERLY on "Nonconformity in the Modern Universities," Mr. A. V. urray has written what your readers will naturally assume to be facts; id in an informative article of this kind one may legitimately expect the rictest accuracy. Yet the short paragraph which he has written about ie University of Durham simply bristles with mistakes which will mis-ad many, and which could easily have been avoided by the ordinary vestigation upon which such articles are usually based.

On what authority Mr. Murray makes the following remarks it would e interesting to know: "There are four colleges, three of them with a apel, and the fourth, University College, using the Cathedral. Theology redominates, and as there is little against which the budding, or even the owered and fruited, theologians can sharpen their minds, the result is a mewhat dull orthodoxy."

As a member of the University of Durham with that knowledge of the cts which Mr. Murray does not display, I beg to submit the following rrections of the above remarks.

There are seven colleges, not four, namely: University, Hatfield, t. Chad's, St. John's, Bede, St. Mary's, St. Hild's—the two latter being omen's colleges. This is exclusive of Armstrong and the Medical College hich are in Newcastle, and belong to the University of Durham.

All the colleges in Durham have chapels, and University College, which located in the Castle, so far from using the Cathedral, has the oldest apel of all, built long before the formation of the University.

Theology does not predominate. There are, of course, numbers o ordinands who take post-graduate courses in theology, but the majorit of students do not read theology for the degree of B.A.

There is moreover very much "against which the budding, etc., theo logians can sharpen their minds," for the following religious societies ar active and well supported: the Durham Inter-Collegiate Christian Unio (a branch of the S.C.M.), the Society of the Holy Trinity, the Evangelic Union, and the Bible Union—all, of course, Church of England societies.

With regard to the "somewhat dull orthodoxy" which Mr. Murra asserts is in evidence, I can only suggest that he should pay what I rathe imagine would be his first visit to Durham, and see for himself that "du orthodoxy" hardly sums up the position in Durham. No, Sir, Durhan may not be a Nonconformist stronghold, but let us recognize the facts, o if we do not know them, search them out.

In the interests of truth and accuracy I hope you will find roo for the publication of these few facts.

I am, Sir, etc.,

DUNELMIAN.

SIR,— "Dunelmian" quarrels with me on a ground of fact and on ground of opinion.

As to fact, I admit his technical exactness, and Whitaker's Almanac justifies him. But the three extra colleges he mentions are not strictly speaking University colleges. St. Mary's is a residential hostel for women Bede and St. Hild's are diocesan training colleges. It is news to me tha students come to them primarily to get a degree. Things may, I admit have altered since I left Durham, after seventeen years' residence near th city. I am sorry I had forgotten the chapel of University College, especially as I have attended service there so many times. The Cathedral was, however, used also, and men used to speak of "doing a Cath." I made n specific reference to Newcastle in my article, just as I made none to Reading and a few other places. Technically and legally the Newcastle college are part of the University of Durham, but this is an anomaly which is constant source of friction. They are more like a separate modern secula University—although not thereby necessarily better than Durham—wit a life entirely of their own.

On the question of opinion, "Dunelmian" has his and I have mine The Durham colleges are on an Anglican religious foundation, the chie professors are canons of the Cathedral, and the theological atmosphere i all-pervasive. I am not here saying that the place is deliberately obscur antist—which I do not believe—but these are certainly handicaps. Th Durham colleges have never got over the circumstances of their foundation Durham was started as a Northern counterblast to the "godless colleg in Gower Street," which became the University of London, and wa modelled—though only externally—on Oxford. The coming of railways and, later on, the growth of technical colleges, kept it small; but twenty years after its foundation Dr. Routh of Magdalen was so glad of the exist ence of this centre of old-world reaction, in the days when Oxford wa given over to Liberalism and a Royal Commission, that he endowed it wit his library—and his wig!

Yours faithfully,

A. V. MURRAY.